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THE
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ART. I.—MODERN CONGREGATIONAL
THEOLOGY.

Faith and Criticism: Essays by Congregationalists. Sampson Low & Co. 1893.

THENOLOGY in this generation is said to be "in transition." It would be well if those who lightly use this conveniently general phrase would describe somewhat more explicitly what they mean. The thoughts of men are always in transition. Even the unchanging East can hardly claim exemption from this law; and in the energetic and progressive West, the changes are marked and rapid. But they have been most rapid of all during the lifetime of the generation now coming to maturity. It is not merely that the changes which surround us appear more considerable than those which are past, for it is matter of common notoriety that the increase of human knowledge during the past fifty years has been such as to cause what almost amounts to a revolution in the dominant theories concerning the world and human life. That theology should feel such changes is inevitable. It is, or ought to be, a science; but it is a science of the sciences, and claims no less than the whole area of human knowledge as a field in which to gather facts to illustrate and apply that divine knowledge which constitutes its proper study. The intelligent Christian must have his *Welt-Anschauung*, his "World-View," gained in

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the light of what he holds to be Divine truth, but affected, it may be slightly, or it may be seriously, by the growth and development of human knowledge. Every Christian teacher at least, and in some measure every thoughtful Christian, should seek to understand the nature of the changes which are affecting the Christian view of God and the world, that he may be able intelligently to acquiesce in them, or as intelligently to resist them.

Neither material nor help is wanting. It is but a short time since the publication of a now well-known book, *Lux Mundi*, noticed at length in this REVIEW at the time of its appearance.* It was issued on the part of a number of the younger and more intelligent High Churchmen, and described as an "attempt to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems." The writers earnestly avowed their belief in the "development" of theology, understanding by it "the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age," and they professed themselves as seeking to aid in the endeavour of the Christian Church to "assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its place to all new knowledge, to throw herself into the sanctification of each new social order, bringing forth out of her treasures things new and old, and showing again and again, her power of witnessing under changed conditions to the catholic capacity of her faith and life." The essays in question excited no little controversy. It was contended by many that one of the writers in particular had shown an anxiety to assimilate new theories rather than new knowledge, and the attitude taken up towards Holy Scripture was thought by many to tend more towards the disintegration than the strengthening of Christian faith.

During the last few months a similar attempt has been made by some of the younger and more intelligent members of the Congregationalist Churches. These also believe in "development." They have written, as the Preface informs us, "to help those very numerous seekers after truth whose minds have been disturbed by the work of criticism in Biblical and theological

* See LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, CXLVII. April 1890.

questions." They are chiefly anxious to "encourage the younger generation of inquirers to face bravely the necessary changes of theological development, in the certainty that the essential truths of Christ and of Christianity can never be shaken by criticism or discredited by growing knowledge." It is obvious from the nature of the case that a number of Congregationalist ministers cannot exhibit the same kind of cohesion as a number of High Church clergymen. In both cases, as usual, each author is only responsible for his own essay. But the writers in *Lux Mundi* have much to say not only of a catholic faith, but of a catholic church; while the writers of *Faith and Criticism* reduce the catholic faith to a minimum, and reject the idea of a corporate catholic church altogether. They are agreed, we are told, "in the persuasion that our Lord Jesus Christ—the personal Divine and human Christ—is the centre and source of all Christian life and thought." This is something; in relation to the unbelieving or disbelieving world, it is very much. But it is consistent with an immense amount of disagreement upon points of inestimable importance to Christian faith. The word "Divine" in relation to the Lord Jesus Christ is admitted by perhaps a majority of Unitarians, and from Christ as a centre of thought it is possible to diverge in widely different directions without being untrue to the primary relation to the acknowledged Teacher. We do not say this by way of complaint, but by way of reminder. Those who have banded together to write the volume entitled *Faith and Criticism* are men who believe that in theology, worship, and organisation alike, it is best for Christians to march in loose order. In doctrine particularly, most Congregationalists hold that close cohesion would imply more loss of freedom and individuality than could be gained by compactness of rank for the purposes of attack or defence.

Still, the volume possesses sufficient internal unity for us to treat it as a whole and as representing "Modern Congregational Theology." In estimating its significance, we must take into account what it does not, as well as what it does contain. A description of its exact contents will here be convenient. The first two essays are on the Old and New Testament, by Professors W. H. Bennett and W. F. Adeney respectively. The Rev.

P. T. Forsyth writes upon "Revelation and the Person of Christ;" Mr. R. F. Horton takes the subject of "The Atonement;" while two papers on Experimental Christianity are contributed by the Revs. Eric A. Lawrence and H. Arnold Thomas on "Christ and the Christian," and "Prayer in Theory and Practice." The remaining essays are "The Kingdom and the Church," by Mr. F. Herbert Stead; "Christian Missions," by Professor E. Armitage; "Church and State," by Mr. Thomas Raleigh, the only writer who is not a Congregationalist. This is a goodly array of themes, the importance and the timeliness of most of which are obvious. It is obvious also, as is urged in the Preface, that "a single volume such as this must omit many questions that some persons would desire to see discussed," and it would be quite unfair to complain that the joint authors of a modest volume of essays have not passed in survey the whole range of Christian theology.

Nevertheless, there are certain significant omissions which seem to call for comment. We judge simply by the avowed aim of the writers above stated, and their claim that "between them they have selected most of the topics which urgently call for consideration." We can only say that to us the volume appears to give a very scanty and insufficient answer to a large number of the questions on which the perplexed of the present generation are eager for help and direction. It may perhaps be thought, as the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ is assumed as a basis of agreement, that there is no need to discuss any of those fundamental questions concerning God and the world which belong rather to Theism than to Christianity. Yet the criticism which disturbs faith to-day is at least as busy with its foundations as with any part of its superstructure, and a volume which altogether ignores the great postulates or pre-suppositions of Christianity will most certainly be found wanting by a large number of the seekers after truth whom this book is intended to help. But waiving this point, we cannot avoid being struck by the fact that the way in which the subject of the Bible is dealt with occasions a very serious, if not fatal deficiency. The question of the day, *par excellence*, is the Inspiration and the Authority of Holy Scripture. The two essays on the Old and New Testaments touch upon a number

of important questions bearing upon this central theme, but they only skirt the confines of a subject which calls for positive, clear, and definite exposition. Mr. Adeney, it is true, gives his views on the authority of the New Testament; but, first, he necessarily has nothing to say of the Old; secondly, he is almost silent on Inspiration; and thirdly, as we shall endeavour to show, his remarks on "authority" by no means meet some of the chief practical difficulties which are exercising the minds of perplexed Christians.

It would, perhaps, be ungracious to dwell at length on what appear to us to be deficiencies in the plan of this volume. If we do so at all, it is not because we are unmindful of the necessary limits imposed by the publication of a single not very bulky volume. It is because the omissions show what in the opinion of leading Congregationalists are and are not subjects which may be readily passed over in a volume intended to meet "the present distress." That Sin and Salvation should receive such slight attention is significant. It is true that with one essay, specifically written on The Atonement, the needs of the case might seem to have been met. But the character of Mr. Horton's essay, as we shall endeavour shortly to show, entirely precludes the treatment of the chief problems concerning the nature of sin and the mode of man's salvation which are raised by the course of current thought. The work of the Holy Spirit, again, in some of its aspects, is a topic which one might have thought called much more urgently for treatment than "Christian Missions" or "Church and State." But it is useless to multiply such criticisms. It is for authors to choose their own themes, and some of those chosen, at all events, are as timely as they are important, while the volume as a whole testifies to the religious devoutness as well as the intellectual ability of the writers, who are one in their allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ and their desire to "contend earnestly for the faith," as they conceive it, "once delivered unto the saints." How far our conception agrees with or differs from theirs is quite another question.

And "first concerning the first things," as Plato says. The word criticism mainly suggests Biblical criticism, and it is well that the first two essays should deal with this fundamental

topic. Both of them contain valuable matter. The main drift of both is to show that there is nothing in the results of current criticism to disturb the faith of Christian believers; Professor Adeney claiming to prove that the main tenets of traditional orthodoxy concerning the books of the New Testament have been confirmed by inquiry, while Professor Bennett contends that the very considerable departure from traditional beliefs necessitated by Old Testament criticism will prove to be a gain rather than a loss. Mr. Bennett, for instance, says:

"In all that concerns the most fundamental facts, the deepest experiences, the most potent forces of the Gospel, the Old Testament, as it is now understood, is not only all that it was before modern criticism was heard of—it is much more. New wine has been given to this generation, but it comes from the ancient vineyard, and the grapes were ripened by the same sunshine of God. Even in an essay like this, dealing with more recent aspects of the subject, the reader will find much that is merely the re-statement of familiar truth; he will find, too, that much that seems new is already beyond the reach of controversy, and represents a solid gain, accepted and rejoiced over by almost all intelligent Christians" (p. 5).

While Mr. Adeney's view of the position is this:

"The field is distinctly clearer than it was fifty years ago. Erratic ideas have been weeded out, never to be entertained again. But it will be said, the result is not all gain. On the side of conservative scholarship reluctant concessions have been made and ground which once was held as of the very citadel has come to be abandoned. There is another way of regarding this change. Until recently the bulk of the conservative theologians simply deplored the progress of criticism as 'neologian' heresy. This may have been pious, but it was not vigorous. . . . Of late a more humble and patient attitude has been observable on the conservative side. It is no longer possible to oppose the scientific view to the orthodox view, because the scientific view is better understood among the conservative scholars. Undoubtedly this has led to the granting of some concessions. But in exchange for the loss on minor points we have gained one incalculable advantage—a sure footing on the free soil of open discussion. It is as though the preacher had stepped down from the pulpit, where he might denounce all opponents to his heart's content, in the comfortable assurance that the decorum of public worship forbade a reply, and had taken up his position in the market-place, to enter into conversation with his neighbours on equal terms" (pp. 66, 67).

With the general drift of these statements and the essays generally we heartily agree. In other words, we accept the

principle of unfettered Biblical criticism, and a portion of the *results* of such criticism, although involving considerable concessions on the part of traditional opinion, as a clear gain to the comprehension of the Bible, and a strengthening of the true foundations of the Christian faith. Such a statement includes, we imagine, most of what the essayists are anxious to establish, and is sufficient to show our fundamental agreement with them. It by no means follows, however, that we are satisfied with the essays as they stand, and our objections in some cases are serious and strong. We should complain, for example, that Professor Bennett throughout his essay treats Old Testament Criticism as one homogeneous whole, and gives as its conclusions a number of statements which represent only the prevailing theory of a large section of Old Testament scholars. The weight of such opinion we are not disposed to deny, but it is essentially misleading to mass indiscriminately together Wellhausen, Strack, and König in Germany, or confuse together, as if they were substantially agreed, (say) Professor Cheyne with Professor Kirkpatrick, or Canon Driver with Professor James Robertson, among scholars in this country. As a matter of fact, this arises not from a lack of discrimination on the part of Mr. Bennett, but from an unwarrantable disregard of an important section of critical opinion and the assumption that a dominant theory represents nothing but ascertained facts. He coolly remarks that "conservative criticism is English in this also—it does not know when it is beaten." On the other hand, liberal criticism cannot, French fashion, gain a battle by placarding the tidings of victory. Let us take an illustration from the essay of his colleague and co-adjutor. It is not very long since the Tübingen hypothesis concerning the writings of the New Testament was at least as dominant in Germany as the Kuenen-Wellhausen theory concerning those of the Old. How easy forty years ago to say that conservative criticism did not know when it was beaten. Yet Mr. Adeney tells us that Baur's "extravagant hypotheses have been broken up and shattered." We draw special attention to the words of the next sentence in Mr. Adeney's essay, because instead of Baur we might well read Wellhausen,— "With the almost inevitable habit of an inventor, he has

hidden his inventions too far, until he has made imagination take the place of perception." There is this difference, however, between the two cases. The period of the New Testament is so much nearer to us, that we are happily able to correct the excessive subjectivity of theorists by the ascertained dates of important documents. More and more surely during the last thirty or forty years have successive discoveries pushed back the dates of the Canonical Gospels from the period which Baur's theory required; consequently the ingenious "Tendency-criticism" has been broken to pieces upon the rocks of incontestable facts. Such facts are not at the moment forthcoming in the case of the Old Testament; perhaps no similarly conclusive evidence is to be hoped for, though in these days it is difficult to say what ancient records may leap to light to put to shame modern theories. But the history of New Testament Criticism should teach caution in relation to the Old Testament, in cases where the chief, or rather the only evidence attainable is internal, and where accordingly the danger of subjectivity is greatest.

Professor Bennett's language concerning the "tyrannous and misleading authority of tradition" does not impress us as being that of a ripe and experienced scholar accustomed carefully to weigh arguments on both sides of a question. It is perfectly true that "a guess made centuries after the period it refers to does not become contemporary evidence by being repeated for two thousand years." And we at least have not the slightest wish that modern scholarship should be "tied hand and foot by the casual and *otiose* conjectures of Jews living in the centuries immediately before Christ." But Professor Bennett writes as loosely about tradition as he does about criticism. One would imagine that the value of "tradition" concerning the authorship and composition of the books of the Old Testament was always the same, viz., *nil*; while the methods of "criticism" always led to the same result, viz., scientific truth. Much may be forgiven to a scholar writing in brief for a popular audience, but it is as easy to preserve a just balance in a popular essay as in a scientific treatise, and balance of judgment is precisely what Professor Bennett does not display. His essay reads to us like the composition of a

comparatively young scholar, who has swallowed whole the theories of the reigning school of Old Testament critics, without having worked out their bearings, or seeing whither he himself is being carried. He offers us a new Moses, a new David, a new Isaiah; but he seems in great doubt whether he can secure to his bewildered readers an Abraham of any sort. He half inclines to the desperate resort of saying that "when we come to Abraham, a true historical instinct tells us that we are dealing with the authentic record of a real historical personage." Unfortunately, the "true historical instincts" of many eminent scholars tell them nothing of the kind, but inform them that the picturesque stories of "J." are admirable specimens of the myths that gather round the name of the imaginary historical ancestor of a nation. And so it comes to pass that the anxious inquirer who puts the very simple question, whether the histories of the patriarchs are in any sense true, receives from Professor Bennett only the cold comfort that "Individuals will continue to decide these questions according to their sense of the historical and religious necessities of the case." To arrive at which highly re-assuring conclusion, it is hardly worth while to consult an "expert."

Equally unfair and indicative of an unworthy bias is Professor Bennett's characterisation of the methods of handling the Old Testament current before the happy times when Kuenen and Wellhausen showed the way to treat the Scriptures with the perfect judicial balance of scientific criticism. It is no duty of ours to defend all the exegesis of our forefathers, and much of it, as every one knows, was crude and unsatisfactory enough. But is the following a fair description of the defence of the Christian faith of a generation or two ago? Professor Bennett styles it the "Rabbinic method of apologetics," and adds, "This method consisted in an ingenious manipulation of inconvenient details, a subtle sophistry as to facts, a remarkable casuistry as to ethics. In the interpretation of the Old Testament, white might be understood to mean black, or at any rate, white and black were explained to be alternative terms for an intermediate shade of grey" (p. 38). With all due respect be it said, this is language very unbecoming in a writer who is taking it upon himself to guide the

perplexed in a time of theological transition. It would be easy to retort that "ingenious manipulation of inconvenient details" is a phrase admirably descriptive of certain modern critical theories, but neither on one side or the other are such question-begging epithets in place when the object is clearly to state what is virtually *proved* by modern criticism, and calmly to show its bearing upon that which is to the believing Christian the most precious thing in the world, his religious faith. We had marked several other points in Professor Bennett's essay which have disappointed us, even taking for granted all the conclusions of the particular school of critics to which he belongs ; but we must forbear.

Of Professor Adeney's essay we are compelled to speak in somewhat similar terms. There is much in it with which we cordially agree ; but while reading it, we are possessed with the uneasy feeling that the writer is forsaking old moorings and drifting he hardly knows where. Not that the personal faith of the writer is doubtful for a moment ; the question is, how far is he to be trusted as a leader by anxious Christians who are asking whether the New Testament is to be accepted in its entirety as an authoritative rule of faith and practice, and if so, on what grounds ? Professor Adeney does not make these grounds sufficiently clear, and too often rests his conclusions upon such arguments as these :

"The history may be regarded as its own vindication. It is like some exquisite organism which the naturalist knows must have enjoyed the functions of a rich, full life, even though he may not be able to trace its pedigree or assign it to its correct *habitat*" (p. 61). "We are impressed with the fulness, the force, the elevation, the inspiring influence of the New Testament. So many of its ideas commend themselves at once to our judgment of what is most true and right, so many more grow upon us as our spiritual experience deepens and ripens, that we should be prepared to receive the rest with a reverence which we do not dream of according to any other literature" (p. 82). "The New Testament can only be an inspired book for readers who are inspired" (p. 93). There is a sense in which all these statements are true and timely. The line of argument indicated by them is a most important

feature in the bulwark of Christian evidences. But it is only one feature, and is only valid within definable limits; for some minds and against some arguments it is not valid at all. Much greater stress must be laid upon the substantial historical accuracy of both Old and New Testaments than either of the Congregationalist Professors appears disposed to do, if these sacred volumes are still to be regarded by Protestant Christians as the source of authority and the court of appeal.

We are not contending for the mint, anise, and cummin of historical accuracy, or referring to such questions as the identity of Raguel and Hobab, or the number of times the cock crew before Peter denied our Lord. But plain and simple people are anxious to know whether the histories of patriarchs and kings and prophets—above all, the incidents in the life of our Lord—are *true*; and, while Mr. Adeney in dealing with the New Testament is naturally less vague than Mr. Bennett in his treatment of the Old, his tone on the subject of the "Sweet Bethlehem Stories" will leave some of his readers in doubt whether, after all, they are to be accepted as facts or no. On the other hand, Professor Adeney considers himself quite competent to criticise St. Paul, to tell us that his "insight is more keen than his logic is sound," to set down his "rabbinical methods as quaint and inconclusive," his "analogies" as "inaccurate," his "exegesis of Scripture" as "a departure from the original meaning of the text." Mr. Adeney has previously told us that Scripture is an authority in religion, though in religion alone; but on such religious subjects as the true relation between the Old and New Testament, and the mind of the Spirit in the writings of prophets and psalmists, it is clear that the professor in the nineteenth century is of opinion that he has decidedly the advantage over the Apostle of the first.

Our examination of these two first essays has been necessarily slight and inadequate, but we have perhaps said enough to show why our careful and repeated reading of them has left behind it a deepening dissatisfaction. There is much that is able and acute in both, much that will help to correct popular errors and perhaps strengthen popular faith; but we have failed to find in either the careful, weighty, matured

judgments of men who are qualified to lead Christian thought in difficult and critical times. Those who propose to remove a house that has sheltered many generations of faithful men and women must be prepared to provide something better than flimsy, hastily-built structures, resting upon insecure foundations. The writers in *Lux Mundi* could point those who asked them for guidance to the authority of "the Church" and the claims of "the Catholic faith." The writers of "Faith and Criticism" disclaim this particular kind of authority, on good and valid grounds. But it is the more incumbent upon them to be clear and explicit upon the all-important question of the true foundations of religious authority, and Professors Bennett and Adeney, while admitting with the utmost freedom the conclusions of Biblical Criticism, by no means provide their Congregationalist followers with the needful $\pi\circ\nu\sigma\tau\omega$ on which to rest their faith, and fail to answer certain fundamental questions which the persons they desire to help are anxious to have answered as explicitly as possible. The gaps in their line of defence are certainly much more obvious than the strength of the entrenchment they have somewhat slightly and hastily thrown up.

The third essay is less critical and more positive in its character. Mr. Forsyth, in dealing with *Revelation and the Person of Christ*, is really engaged with the very foundations of Christian faith. He seeks to make those foundations independent of historical criticism. He brings his readers directly into the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ and of Him as Redeemer of men. The very idea of Revelation, he contends, is misunderstood by many Christians. Again and again, in the course of his forcibly, and even brilliantly written essay, Mr. Forsyth endeavours to impress his leading thought, which it is only right he should present in his own words :

"Revelation is not a thing of truths at all. It is not scientific. It is a matter of will, not of thought. Truths dwell but in the fore-court of the soul. Freedom of thought is a far less precious thing than the freedom of the soul, and at this moment far less imperative. It is for this latter that Revelation exists. It is not for illumination, but for redemption ; and as only a soul can free a soul, as only a soul can mediate between soul and soul, Revelation is not, therefore, a thing of truths, but of persons and personal acts. It is

not truth about God, but God Himself as truth ; and it is not met by any belief about the soul, but by the soul believing " (pp. 98, 99). "The demand for Revelation which is created by the actual situation of the soul and the actual needs of the conscience is not a demand for knowledge, but for power and life, and what Revelation gives is not scientific certitude. It is not an extension of our knowledge. The more we know, the more we need Revelation " (p. 103). "Christianity is not a book religion. It has a book, but the book is not the Revelation. It does not even contain the Revelation any more than the reflecting telescope contain the heavens " (p. 106). "Revelation may be defined as the free, final, and effective act of God's self-communication in Jesus Christ for man's redemption. It is not simply an act of manifestation, or even of impressive representation, but it is a historic and eternal act of deliverance, prolonged in an infinite number of acts *Ejusdem Generis* in the experience by Christian people of their redemption in Christ " (p. 116).

The ideas which lie at the basis of these sentences and of Mr. Forsyth's essay are so important, and in our estimation contain such a mixture of truth and error, that it is necessary to examine them somewhat closely. And first it should be said that they do not originate with Mr. Forsyth. In a brief note he acknowledges obligation, "in thought and occasionally in phrase," to Professor Hermann of Marburg. But it is added, "These obligations are religious and theological, and the writer would not be understood to share the philosophical position which is the negative side of that school." It will be recognised by all who are familiar with the course of theological thought in Germany that Mr. Forsyth is but reproducing some of the leading features of Ritschlianism, especially as represented by Hermann in his little tractate on Revelation, entitled *Die Offenbarung*, and in his longer works *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott* and *Die Gewissheit des Glaubens*. There is much that is attractive about Hermann's position, especially in these days of criticism and religious uncertainty. To find a position of religious certitude, without toiling through the apparently endless conflict of opinions, in which science seems to be arrayed against faith and faith to rest upon the testimony of books which criticism is crumbling to pieces before our eyes, is a tempting prospect. Hermann and the section of Ritschlians whom he represents hold that religious certainty is attainable through the immediate experience which the individual soul has of the revelation of God in Christ. It

is not the doctrine of Christ, but the direct impression (*Eindruck*) which Christ makes upon the soul, which constitutes revelation. It is not Christ as Teacher, but Christ as Redeemer, that is thus presented. The vivid apprehension of God Himself present and acting in the historical Christ, and entering into personal relation with the individual soul is the means of salvation and the source of all religious certitude. A certain compulsion (*Zwang*), an irresistible conviction, is experienced by the believer when brought spiritually into contact with the historical Christ, and in this is virtually found his answer to those who ask him for a reason of the faith and the hope that are in him. Here, it is said, is a ground of faith independent of criticism, impressing directly upon the soul the conviction that the Power which works in and over all things is gracious and good as Christ is, granting forgiveness of sin to the believer and offering redemption to the whole world.

Thus presented, the position taken up may appear uncontested. It may easily be confused with that occupied by Dr. Dale in the former part of his *Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, and with the line of argument based upon the experience of religion which was so prominent in the writings of the Reformers of the sixteenth century and other similar writers since. We are prepared not only to grant the essential validity of the position which Mr. Forsyth, following Hermann, has advanced in this essay, but even strenuously to urge the importance at the present time of remembering and insisting on this line of defence of the Christian faith.* But the argument must be carefully stated, or it will prove misleading. Hermann and his school distinctly contrast religious and scientific knowledge. The former moves only in the region of *Werth Urtheile*, "worth- or value-judgments," subjective in their character and valuable merely for regulative purposes, while the latter constitutes actual, objective knowledge, founded on reasoning, and verifiable as science. The weakness of this position on the part of a theologian is obvious. Mr. Forsyth declines to give his adhesion to what he calls the philosophical position of the Ritschian school. But he cannot help him-

* See an article in the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for July 1892, entitled "The Evidential Value of Christian Experience."

self, at least, without making it clear how that part of Ritschlianism which he does accept can be made to stand alone. The argument based upon personal experience avails by itself for the simple Christian, who has put doctrine to the proof and verified its truth in his own case. For him it is enough to say, "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see." But this is not enough for the theologian, for the Christian apologist. It is not a position of stable equilibrium when a thinker contrasts religious with scientific knowledge, and tries to keep the two apart, giving to the former only a relative and to the latter a real validity. The "historic Christ," who, where, and what is He? How do we know Him? If through documents, what is their history and value? What did He say or do when upon the earth? Are the accounts we have of Him trustworthy, and in what way did He so manifest the living God that I now may be brought into immediate relation to Him by faith, and assure my soul directly and by personal experience that He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life? These questions must be answered. The "man in the street" need not trouble himself about the Synoptic problem or the date of the Fourth Gospel, but the scientific theologian must be prepared on every side, and especially must be ready with a plain answer to plain questions concerning the facts of our Lord's life on earth. Here the Ritschlians give an uncertain sound. Harnack, one of their leading representatives, does not believe in the Miraculous Birth of Jesus, and holds that there is no historical proof of the Resurrection. All members of the school disclaim or disparage the study of what is generally called Christology. The doctrines of Christ's pre-existence and of His present exaltation and heavenly reign are for them mere speculations—matters about which we can know nothing; it is enough for us that Christ lived and taught and suffered and died, thereby manifesting God as Redeemer—the character of what He did actually teach being meanwhile left very uncertain.

We are not attributing these opinions to Mr. Forsyth. But it is impossible to avoid drawing attention to the fact that his essay contains a fragment of Ritschlianism cut off from the main piece, and that it preserves, inevitably and in spite of

Mr. Forsyth's disclaimer, the characteristic dangers and errors of the original. The essay is misleading, because it is one-sided. It is aphoristic in style and aphoristic in teaching. It emphasises a single truth apart from its relation to the hierarchy of truths to which it belongs, and so distorts and misrepresents it. Undoubtedly religion is not to be resolved into a philosophy, and life is more important than doctrine. Undoubtedly revelation does not merely concern the intellect, and no man can truly understand its meaning who is not prepared to throw open his heart to its influence and prove its power in his life. Undoubtedly the man who does this has open to him a ground of certitude which others cannot reach, and so far as his own convictions are concerned, he may find himself independent of the laborious processes of historical criticism, having attained the intuitive knowledge of one who is brought face to face with the Redeeming GOD. But it is nothing short of suicidal for the Christian apologist to exaggerate this, as Mr. Forsyth does, into the statement that "Revelation is not a thing of truths at all," a statement virtually refuted by what follows: "It is not truth about God, but God Himself as truth; it is not met by any belief about the soul, but by the soul believing." It is dangerous for a writer to be too epigrammatic. "The soul believing" what? "God Himself as truth," then how can revelation be "not a thing of truths at all"? The "person" and "personal facts" on which Mr. Forsyth so much and so rightly insists as all-important in Christianity cannot be shut out of the region of truths; unless, indeed, it be on the Ritschlian hypothesis concerning knowledge which is indeed self-consistent, but which Mr. Forsyth appears to repudiate. The fact seems to be that the essay on *Revelation and the Person of Christ* presents in a number of detached and often striking sentences some fragments of a system of religious thought which the writer has imperfectly assimilated; either because he has failed to understand it in all its bearings, or because he is endeavouring to reproduce a part only of what must be understood as a whole to be understood aright. Hence while, as we believe, there is an important element of truth in this essay, Mr. Forsyth's fragmentary and one-sided presentation of it in a number of aphorisms better

calculated to dazzle than to guide, is not unlikely to mislead many readers.

There is a sense, doubtless, in which the Resurrection is "credible only to faith," but is the Christian teacher contentedly to accept the position that its historicity cannot be established, and that the "value" of it and of the Atonement is for faith alone? Are we to give up the historical trustworthiness of the Scriptures and the spiritual truths taught in them as *ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, "weak and beggarly elements," which do not belong to Revelation proper, and which the believer who is (somehow) "face to face with the historic Christ" may put on one side as so much surplusage? Those who take the responsible position of the Essayists in this volume cannot be supposed to be throwing out a few thoughts by way of suggestion only; they are, or should be, presenting well-matured lines of argument to strengthen faith in a time of transition. We should be sorry to trust ourselves to Mr. Forsyth's guidance, if this essay represents his best contribution to the solution of current difficulties. For instance, in one place he says:

"It is *only* the Church that can wield criticism justly. For it is criticism of the record of One who has done thus and thus for my soul, and still more for the soul of the greatest society on earth—the Church He created, and creates. A mere scholar on the Gospels is like a pedant on a poet; a mere poet on them is like a church window against the sun, beautifying beauty's source" (p. 137).

It is the element of truth in that extract which is likely to make it misleading. It is true indeed that erudite criticism is insufficient to give insight into the meaning of a religion, and the above sentences, following an argument to prove the objective truth of the Gospel narratives, would point a very important practical lesson. But taken with the rest of Mr. Forsyth's essay (and indeed with part of Professor Adeney's essay) the passage raises serious question. "Faith," we read elsewhere, "is the response to Revelation, and what GOD revealed was neither the Incarnation nor the miraculous birth." If that simply means that doctrine by itself is but the *caput mortuum* of religion, that the Revelation of the living GOD does not lie in a number of metaphysical propositions, well and

good; but if Mr. Forsyth, like some of the Ritschlians whom he admires, means that we may abandon the truths for which the words Incarnation, Atonement, and Resurrection stand, in order to "approach the true, simple manhood of Jesus," not "in search of knowledge or a creed, but of help, forgiveness, strength," he needs to be reminded that the "help, forgiveness, and strength" to be obtained in Christ depend upon the great facts which the above-named theological words represent, and that while Revelation does not imply the *mere* communication of truths for the intellect, such truths are an essential part of the Revelation itself. This seems too simple and obvious to need statement; but it is tolerably clear to students of Ritschlianism in Germany that many of its adherents are busy sawing off the bough on which they are sitting, or undermining the very ground on which the foundations of their true faith rest, and we have seen reason to fear that Mr. Forsyth is in more respects than one following in their wake. His interesting and suggestive essay cannot be said to make good the deficiencies of the first two of this series.

For constructive theology we naturally turn to Mr. Horton's essay on the *Atonement*. The fourth paper, by Mr. Eric Laurence, on *Christ and the Christian*, and the sixth, by Mr. Arnold Thomas, on *Prayer*, are of an experimental and practical character. We by no means wish to imply that they are therefore out of place in an apologetic volume of this kind. On the contrary, they are in some respects better calculated to answer the end for which the volume was planned than any others of the essays it contains. But in the first place, there is naturally less to comment on in papers which deal with practical godliness; and in the second place, it is not to these that we look for the much-needed contribution to constructive theology which thus far we have found lacking. Those who trust to Mr. Horton's name and Mr. Horton's subject, and expect to find in the fifth essay what the rest fail to furnish, will be sadly disappointed. The great questions of Christianity are those of Sin as the great evil which has brought woe into the world, and the Salvation which comes by Christ as the one adequate means of release from its burden. Objections and difficulties multiply in these days around these great

central doctrines of the Christian religion, and a writer on the Atonement has a great opportunity before him. Of such an opportunity Mr. Lyttelton availed himself in *Lux Mundi*, and gave to the Church a study which was at least a worthy contribution to the literature of a great subject. Mr. Horton devotes nearly sixty pages to proving a thesis which we prefer he should state in his own words :

"The object of the present essay is to advocate this sobriety of assertion in dealing with the question of the Atonement. It may be a duty on the one hand to maintain that the death of Christ is the means by which sin is pardoned and reconciliation between God and man effected, and yet, on the other hand, to own that no real explanation of it can be found. We may be required to preach 'Christ and Him crucified,' and to glory in nothing but the Cross, as Paul did, and yet scrupulously to abstain from interpretations of the fact. If explanations lessen its efficacy by injuring its credibility, it is better to place the method of reconciliation among the mysteries of God which men and angels desire to search into in vain" (p. 188). "The New Testament has no theory about the Atonement. Nor is the case fully stated when we deny that the New Testament contains a theory; there is strong reason for suspecting that the several New Testament writers, if they had in their minds at all any connected system underlying their doctrine of salvation, differed as widely as modern theologians from one another in their forms of conceiving and expressing it" (pp. 222-3).

In other words, the result of eighteen centuries of Christian thought on this vital subject is to arrive at the knowledge that we can know nothing but the bare fact that Christ died for us. The Apostles did not profess to know wherein lay the significance of that death, or they differed in opinion on the subject, which is practically the same thing, and the devout study of generations of Christian thinkers has brought us, according to Mr. Horton, simply to this point, that we must believe the fact that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures," but in the bare fact so stated we must rest, for directly men seek to go beyond it, they "lessen the efficacy of the doctrine by injuring its credibility." Now if this be true, Mr. Horton cannot claim to have made any addition to constructive theology or the defence of the faith. He would probably say that he has defended the true faith in the best

possible way by diminishing the amount of theologising concerning this particular portion of it.

But is the statement true? True as regards the New Testament, true as regards the history of Christian dogma, true as regards the attitude of Christian thought to-day? If Mr. Horton merely meant to say that no single separate "explanation" of the great mystery of the Atonement forms an *adequate* account of the way in which the death of the Lord Jesus Christ effected a reconciliation between God and man and makes the forgiveness of sins possible, we should not call his view into question for a moment, but it hardly needs an essay of sixty pages to prove that. If Mr. Horton wished to say that this doctrine, more perhaps than any other, has suffered from the crudity of conception and the coarseness of expression incidental to human ignorance and infirmity, he would probably find very few to differ from him. If his review of the history of the doctrine of the Atonement in the Christian Church—a very inadequate and unsatisfactory one, by the way—was intended to lead up to the conclusion that comprehensiveness of spiritual discernment and great caution in utterance are alike necessary to any theologian who seeks to unfold to others as much of the significance of the Atonement of Christ as we can receive and understand, he would have provided a very useful introduction to the positive teaching on the subject which might naturally be expected to follow. But none of these is his meaning. He insists with considerable emphasis that we must remain satisfied with the fact of the Atonement, and deliberately abjure all attempts to understand the mode of its operation. Here we join issue with him. Such a course is neither possible nor desirable; we could not rest in such a position if we would, and we should not seek to do so if we could. The New Testament does not encourage that attitude, and the constitution of the human mind renders it impossible long to remain in it. Mr. Horton himself unintentionally gives proof of this. He criticises certain theories that have obtained more or less acceptance in the Christian Church, ranging from Irenæus to Dr. Dale. But whence comes his power to criticise? How does he know that such and such is *not* a correct view? To know what a thing is not, implies some progress towards a

knowledge of what it is, and the mere arguing out of the question is a virtual condemnation of the Agnostic position taken up by the essayist.

Mr. Horton says, moreover, almost in the same breath, that the writers of the New Testament have no theory of the Atonement, and that they have many which are more or less inconsistent with each other. He seeks to show that St. Paul at one time dwelt on the "juridical or forensic aspect" of the death of Christ, and at another upon "the mystical significance of that complete offering of Christ upon the cross, in which we become partakers by faith." He says, in another place, that "the language of the Apostles seems specially designed to wreck by anticipation the theories which have been constructed." In other words, the Apostles do *not* remain satisfied with stating a bare fact, but give considerable help towards an understanding of the mode in which the death of Christ avails to take away the sins of the world. Careful study of their words is no doubt necessary, if we would rightly use the multiplied hints given in the Scriptures on this great subject, and still greater care is necessary in attempting to reproduce in theological language the varied teaching of Scripture, what St. Paul calls the *πολυπόικιλος σοφία τὸν θεόν*. But the exquisitely beautiful intricacy of the pattern—to carry on the metaphor implied in *πολυπόικιλος*—must not cause us to give up the study of its plan and meaning. If some have failed rightly to trace out its delicately interlacing lines and curves of beauty, or rightly to read all its latent symbolism, it does not follow, nor is it in accordance with the analogy of Christian faith, that the attempt must be given up altogether.

Such relinquishment of a high task is indeed virtually impossible; if admitted as a duty, it would stultify the whole of Christian theology. Every time we use the Greek prepositions *περὶ*, *ὑπὲρ*, or *ἀντὶ*, every time we use the language of sacrifice or of ransom or of reconciliation in reference to the death of Christ, we have necessarily passed, be it ever so little, beyond the line of bare "fact," into the region of explanation. The human mind is compelled to occupy itself with a theme which, like other Christian mysteries, contains much that we may apprehend, though to comprehend it in its entirety is

beyond us. Conscience, too, demands some answer to the question, How does the death of Christ avail to meet the claims of law and secure the forgiveness of sins? Mistakes have been made in giving the answer; and a perfectly adequate answer the question cannot receive, until all the complex conditions of the great problem of a world's salvation are understood, and that will not be on this side of the grave. But some of the conditions are well known, and the conscience which brings the charge of guilt demands a reply to the question how that terrible and apparently indelible stain can be removed. Scripture gives such a reply, and this has been worked out, sometimes crudely and unsatisfactorily enough, but, on the whole, truthfully though imperfectly, and with growing illumination and increasing depth and breadth, in Christian theology. Let what is crude and unsatisfactory be removed by added light and growing knowledge. Any one who will help to improve the statements of theological doctrine, so that they may less inadequately render the teaching of Scripture on this vital topic, and commend themselves more fully to the developed and still developing Christian consciousness, will render service to the Church and to the world. But to attempt, as Mr. Horton does, to arrest the progress of Christian thought on such a central theme is, in the first place, to attempt the impossible; and, in the second place, it prevents that kind of defence of the Christian faith which in our day, and in every day, is sorely needed, and which makes it easy for the messengers of Christ "by manifestation of the truth to commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

The space at our disposal is exhausted before we have completed what we wished to say on four only out of the nine essays in *Faith and Criticism*. The strain of the present article has been more critical and less commendatory than we could have wished. There is much in this volume with which we heartily agree, on which we have said little or nothing. The combination of intellectual ability with a truly devout spirit which it displays is admirable. There can be no question either as to the practical godliness, or the acquaintance with contemporary thought, of the writers. What we expected

to find, and are compelled to say we have not found, was a vigorous contribution to Christian apologetics from the stand-point of Evangelical Free Churchmen, timely, powerful, and satisfying alike to head and heart. *Lux Mundi* laid down a well-considered and consistent position for intelligent High Churchmen to hold in the face of current theological doubts and questionings. *Faith and Criticism* certainly cannot be said to have done this for Evangelical Nonconformists. The writers do not appear to be strong men, who have worked out with some measure of concert valuable and well-sustained lines of defence for the Christian faith against the more active of its present adversaries, and furnished sufficient answers to the most urgent questions which perplexed Christians are putting anxiously forward. The sapping and mining work of criticism is being carried on with unrelaxing energy: the counter-work of construction is, we fear it must be said, tardy and ineffective. Hence our disappointment at finding that the intelligence and vigour of modern Congregationalism as represented in this volume should so largely be found wanting. It may be that we expected too much, it may be that the fault is our own, and that others will find in these essays a sufficient provision for the pressing needs of the hour. No intelligent Christian can fail to find in them much that is interesting and suggestive.

It is always easier to criticise than to construct, and the work of this article has been chiefly critical. But we have done that work ill, if it has not been made to appear that the chief lack in the volume reviewed is the absence of a clear vindication of Scripture as the sufficient and authoritative guide for Christian thought in all generations. If this position is given up, the vessel will soon drag its anchor. If the statements of the Old and New Testament are not substantially trustworthy—if the teaching of Christ and His Apostles is not to be taken as a guide and authority in doctrine—if, instead of “going to school” to the Bible, we are to be its judges and critics, then doubtless the faith of Evangelical Protestants will have to be re-cast. This does not necessarily imply the doctrine of “verbal inspiration,” the absence of all flaw or error in Scripture on questions of

science and history, or a slavish adherence to a book as a mechanically constructed code of reference, to be mechanically and unintelligently used. The true view of the authority of the Bible regards it as a living book, revealing a living God and a present Saviour. But if Faith is to hold her own against criticism, the claims of this book to its high position must first be established, then recognised, then loyally deferred to and obeyed. There is nothing in valid Biblical Criticism, as distinguished from current theorising, to interfere with the real Inspiration and supreme Authority of Scripture. If the authors of these essays had clearly seen and proved and recognised this, the whole tone of their work would have been altered, and its value indefinitely increased.

ART. II.—EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The History of Early English Literature: being the History of English Poetry from its Beginnings to the Accession of King Alfred. By the Rev. STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

ANGLO-SAXON literature has hitherto been best known as a happy hunting-ground for grammarians. We have been wont to look upon our early writers simply as the exponents of philological rules, rather than to regard the rules themselves as the instruments of an important phase of human thought. To some extent, no doubt, the evil has been an unavoidable one. The philological treatment of the subject must of necessity have preceded the literary. Still, one cannot help regretting that the scaffolding has so often done duty for the building—that the philological means has so often been substituted for the literary end.

In the work before us, however, the literature of our ancestors is approached from the purely literary point of view. Indeed, Mr. Stopford Brooke is, if anything, inclined to assign to it too high a literary value. For the Anglo-Saxon literature

is not a great one in the sense that the Greek and Roman literatures are great. It has little beauty of form or breadth of outlook—little sense of proportion, philosophical insight into nature and human nature, or powerful delineation of the passions and struggles of mankind. Still, it is in many ways an interesting literature. It would be interesting if it belonged to an alien race. To us, whose fathers wrote it, it should be doubly interesting; and the best thanks of the English people everywhere are due to Mr. Brooke for his worthy treatment of a worthy theme.

The present volumes—there is a promise of more to follow—deal with the first period of Anglo-Saxon literature, a period entirely poetical. It commences in the England beyond the sea, and continues until the accession of Alfred, culminating between the years 670, when Caedmon began to write, and 780, when Cynewulf died. Within this period were produced specimens of lyric and elegiac poetry, like the *Lament of Deor*, the *Wanderer*, and the *Seafarer*; of narrative and religious poetry, like the Caedmonic *Paraphrase*, and the *Christ* and *Elene* of Cynewulf; of descriptive, like the *Phœnix* and the *Riddles*, and even in some sort of epic poetry, like *Beowulf*. The last-mentioned is undoubtedly the greatest of these, though it may be surpassed in interest by some of the religious pieces, and in beauty by the shorter lyrics.

Beowulf is supposed to have been edited in its present form by a Christian writer of the seventh or eighth century. Portions, however, are of a much higher antiquity, possibly the oldest English literature we possess. The poem narrates two episodes in the life of the hero Beowulf, separated by a period of some fifty years—the first his fight with the monster Grendel and his dam, the second his conflict with a mighty dragon of Geätländ, in which he received his death-wound. The work is valuable not only because it throws great light on the manners and customs of the earliest English, but also because it pictures for us their ideal of manhood. And a noble ideal it is. Beowulf is resolute, bold, and fearless, “prompt in the blood-feud, but jealous of honour,” generous and courteous, “gentle and grave with women,” wise and just in government, “a firm-minded prince,” “a builder of peace, and defender of his own

folk at the cost of his own life." Mr. Brooke compares him with Nelson, and we may trace in his character the qualities which have won admiration in many another hero of modern England.

The Caedmonic poems move in a different atmosphere. They versify, with more or less freedom, the stories of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel, together with portions of the Gospels and of early Christian legend. In great part they are mere paraphrase, but here and there occur bursts of real genius, notably in the narratives of the Fall of the Angels and the Fall of Man, the Flood, the battle of Abraham with the kings of the East, and the passage of the Red Sea. The story of Daniel, and the *Christ and Satan* are weaker; but the *Judith*—a poem originally in twelve cantos, of which only the last three remain—is placed by some in the highest rank. It is a moot point with critics how much of this cycle of poems may be attributed to Caedmon of Whitby, whose beautiful story, as told by Baeda, we know so well. Mr. Brooke is here, at least, conservative. He would reserve for their traditional author the finer passages of the *Paraphrase*, and he is pleased to find scattered indications of the environment of the poet—allusions to the scenery of the Yorkshire moors, and to the wild sea that thunders on the Whitby coast.

The Caedmonic description of Satan and Hell, and the narrative of the Fall, inevitably remind one of Milton. Not, of course, that the earlier poet can for a moment be compared to the later in genius and power; but occasionally in detail, no less than in general outline, there is a remarkable resemblance. Cynewulf, who besides Caedmon is the only Anglo-Saxon poet we know by name, reminds one equally of another modern writer—Cowper. He has the same personal note, the same sympathy with all created things, almost the same religious experience. The *Riddles*, which are generally supposed to be his earliest work, and of which some eighty-nine remain, describe various well-known objects, animate and inanimate, from the badger to the battle-axe, from the storm at sea to the ship and its anchor. More important than these, as literature, are the *Christ*, in which he narrates the incarnation, passion, ascension, and final triumph of our Lord; and

the *Elene*, in which he versifies the legend of the finding of the Cross. In the *Dream of the Rood*, which Mr. Brooke assumes to have been his last work, he tells of his own conversion, of his conviction of sin, his vision of the Cross, and how he made his "refuge near that Holy Rood." The *Andreas* and the *Phænix* are interesting poems, which may be classed as of the school of Cynewulf. The former relates, in vigorous verse, an old legend of St. Andrew the Apostle. The latter is founded on the classic story of the *Phænix*. In its picture of the Happy Isle, where the *Phænix* has its home, we see the descriptive genius of Anglo-Saxon poetry at its best.

But the gems of our early literature are the short half-lyrical pieces—the elegies, as Mr. Brooke calls them—which we know as the *Lament of Deor*, the *Lover's Message*, the *Wife's Complaint*, the *Seafarer*, and the *Wanderer*. The first-mentioned, indeed, is a true lyric, the earliest in our language. The poet tells how the heroes of old surmounted their difficulties, and concludes each stanza with the refrain :

"That he overwent, this also may I!"

In the *Lover's Message*, the lover in a far-off land beseeches his loved one to fly to him over the sea, soon as the spring comes, "soon as she hears the cuckoo in the copse-wood, chanting of his sorrow." The sentiment is quite modern, and so, too, is the sentiment of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*. The one speaks of the longings of the exile for the homeland, and the other of the sailor's delight in the rush and roar of the waves, in the

"Hard glad weather,
In the blown wet face of the sea."

We shall have more to say of these poems by-and-by.

Anglo-Saxon poetry was much hampered by its crude system of versification. Classic prosody, no less than our own, lent itself readily to sublime or beautiful effects; but one feels that no poet, however great, could have achieved any real masterpiece under the Anglo-Saxon forms. These forms, by-the-by, do not appear to special advantage in Mr. Brooke's translations, which are certainly the weakest part of his work.

Anglo-Saxon versification knew nothing of quantity or rhyme, and the number of syllables in a line was a matter of little consequence. Its only essentials were accent and alliteration. In the ordinary verse, there were four or five accented syllables ; and of these, two at least, and usually three, were alliterative—*i.e.*, began either with the same consonant, or with a vowel (not necessarily the same vowel). Each verse was divided in half by a pause or *cæsura* ; and the last but one of the accented syllables in the second half was, so to say, the *key-note* of the verse, and always commenced with the alliterative letter. The other alliterative letters occurred in the first half. In reading, the strongest stress should be laid on the key-syllable, the next strongest on the other alliterative syllables. The number of unaccented syllables in the ordinary verse was immaterial. There was, however, another and more elaborate metre in which unaccented syllables occurred in regular order. This is occasionally employed in the Caedmonic poems.

Grotesque as the Anglo-Saxon prosody sounds to modern ears, it was not altogether inappropriate to the quickness and directness of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Nor did it misbecome the fierce war-rage, the joy in physical strength, the rude exultation in triumph, which characterise our early literature. Features such as these remind us of Homer and of the earlier Biblical poetry ; so, too, does the tendency of Anglo-Saxon poetry to parallelism of structure, to repetition of the same thought, and to the use of descriptive compounds and conventional epithets and titles. In the Caedmonic poems, for example, the Divine Being is comparatively seldom called “God” or “Lord” simply. He is usually the “Highest,” the “All-Ruler,” the “Holy Lord,” the “Lord of Hosts,” or the “Heaven-King.” Satan is “the white angel, dear to his Lord.” Hell is the “hot” or “swart corpse-bed”; heaven is usually the “heaven-kingdom.” Flame is “war-wave”; wings are “feather-covering”; mind is “mind-thought”; defiance, “hot-speech.” Some of these compounds, it will be noticed, are such in form only, the idea in each member being the same, while in others we have true poetical descriptions. To the former class may be added such words as “heoruweopen”

(sword-weapon) for "sword"; "feondsceatha" (hostile enemy) and "manscatha" (wicked-injurer) for "enemy"; "modsefa" (mind-heart) for "mind." To the latter may be added such compounds as "breast-chamber" for "heart"; "war-adder" for "arrow"; "gold-giver" and "gold-friend" for "king"; "chamber-of-darkness" for "tomb"; "sea-horse" for "ship"; "whale's-road," "swan-road," "sail-road," "gannet's-bath," for "sea"; and so on. Such compounds do duty for metaphor and simile, which are but seldom indulged in.

This leads us to remark an important difference between early English and early Greek poetry. The imagination of the Greeks was concrete. It was the national prerogative to embody, whether in poetry or in plastic art, forms of the most perfect beauty. The word-pictures of their poets—of the earlier as well as of the later—are true images, which we can vividly realise, which we can see, and all but touch. The Homeric epithets are instances of this concreteness. The silver-footed Thetis, the crested Hector, the swift-footed Achilles, the fair-haired Greeks, the black ships, even the cloud-compelling Zeus, are made to us, by the epithets, so many distinct and concrete images. But in the Anglo-Saxon poetry there is, for the most part, an absence of the artistic imagination. The ideas suggested are undefined, hazy, vast, like the wide moorland and the sea-mists of the poets' home. And not a few of them partake of a swart horror which is alien to the Greek mind. Satan, for instance, is called by Caedmon "the brightest of the angels, the whitest in heaven;" his defiant pride is spoken of, and his bitter torment set forth; but there is nothing from which we can form a distinct image either of the arch-fiend or of his punishment. Macaulay, in comparing Milton's Satan to Dante's, has noticed the vague outlines of the former—the form and character "marked by a certain dim resemblance to those of men, but exaggerated to gigantic dimensions, and veiled in mysterious gloom." Macaulay's words might be adopted, almost unchanged, with reference to Caedmon's Satan. There is a similar vagueness in Milton's description of Sin and Death—figures which resemble the monsters in *Beowulf*, Grendel and Grendel's mother, the latter a creature half fiendish, half human, to whom the masculine and

the feminine pronouns are applied at random, who is female in that she is the mother of Grendel, but male in strength and fierceness, and is throughout vast and indistinct.

One of Mr. Brooke's most interesting chapters is devoted to Anglo-Saxon poetry in relation to the sea. Our forefathers, like ourselves, loved the sea. They were close observers of its moods, and they had many names for it, expressive of its aspects from various points of view. Its general name was "sae." It was also the "wceter," the "flōd," the "stream." As a quiet lake it was the "lagu"; as a desert waste of waters it was the "mere"; upheaved, as it appears from shore, it was the "holm" or "heather"; as the swimming place for ships it was the "sund"; as the raging, foamy sea, it was the "brim"; as the great encompassing ocean it was "garsecg"; and personified it was "Eagor" and "Fifel." There are descriptions of the sea in our early poetry which have hardly ever been surpassed. Here, in one of Cynewulf's *Riddles*, the Storm speaks:—

" Sometimes shall I, from above, make the surges seethe—
 Stir up the sea-streamings—and to shore crush on,
 Gray as flint, the flood ; foaming, fighteth then
 'Gainst the wall of rock, the wave ! wan ariseth now
 O'er the deep a mountain doun ; darkening in its track
 Follows on another, with all ocean blended,
 Till they now commingled near the bounds of land and sea
 Meet the lofty cliffs. . . . But the stony cliffs,
 Rising steep, in stillness wait the onset of the sea ;
 Battle whirl of billows when the high upbreak of water
 Crashes on the cliffs ! "

In the poem of the *Wanderer*, we are told how the exile oft-times dreams of happier years, when, surrounded by friends, he drank mead in the halls of his patron earl, and then how

" The friendless man awakes again,
 And sees before him heave the fallow waves,
 The foam-birds bathe, and broaden out their wings,
 And falling sleet and snow shot through with hail"—

a vivid little picture of the wild Northern Sea. A passage in the *Seafarer* is still more striking:

"Naught heard I but the thunder roar of seas,
Of ice-chilled waves, and whiles, the whooping swan !
The gannet's scream was all the joy I knew,
I heard the seal-sough 'stead of mirth of men,
And for mead-drinking heard the sea-mew cry.
The storm-winds lashed the crag, the ocean tern
Answered them icy-plumed, and oft the earn,
Her wet wings dripping rain, barked her reply."

Cynewulf's beautiful picture of the voyage of life and the haven of salvation is also well worth quoting in this connection. Its sentiment is quite like that of modern religious poetry :

"Most like it is as if we on lake of ocean,
O'er the water cold, in our keels are sailing,
And through spacious sea. . . . Fearful is the stream
Of immeasurable surges that we sail on here,
Through this wavering world, through these windy oceans,
O'er the path profound. Perilous our state of life
Ere that we had sailed our ship to the shore at last,
O'er the rough sea-ridges. Then there reached us help,
That to hithe of Healing homeward led us on,—
He the Spirit Son of God ! And He dealt us grace"
(*Christ*, line 848.)

Cynewulf, in his deeply religious spirit, was by no means exceptional. A still more interesting chapter in Mr. Brooke's work deals with the relation between Anglo-Saxon poetry and Christianity ; and the author shows how our ancestors, even in heathenism, but immeasurably more after their conversion, were an earnestly religious people. Their religion did not express itself, like that of the classic nations, in beautiful statuary and painting, or in elaborate ceremonial ; but it welled up in deep feeling from the bottom of their soul. They were impressed, as the Greeks never were, with the mysteries of life and death, with the helplessness and ignorance of man, with the power of the great Being who ordains all. Legend has told how life was of old compared to a bird that comes from the darkness, hovers a moment in the light, and then passes again into the darkness, none knows whither. This is exactly the spirit which we find in Anglo-Saxon poetry. "God only knoweth," says one of our most ancient fragments, "whither the soul shall go hereafter. The future is hidden and secret : no one again cometh hither under our roofs that he may tell

us soothly what are the decrees of God, and what the homes of the folk in the land where he himself dwelleth." And again—the quotation is from Professor Morley's rendering of a passage in *Beowulf*:

"I believe not that earth blessings ever abide,
 Ever of three things one, to each ere the severing hour :
 Old age, sickness, or slaughter, will force the doomed soul to depart.
 Therefore for each of the earls, of those who shall afterwards name
 them,
 This is best land from the living, in last words spoken about him ;
 ' He worked ere he went his way, when on earth, against wiles of
 the foe,
 With brave deeds overcoming the devil.'
 His memory cherished by children of men,
 His glory grows ever with angels of God,
 In life everlasting of bliss with the bold."

And for a further instance look at the concluding lines of the *Wanderer*, which Mr. Brooke has transposed into a modern metre :

"So quoth the wise of mood ! Apart
 He sat and made his runes—
 Who keeps his troth is brave of mood,
 Nor shall he, over-rash,
 Ever give voice to woe of heart
 Till first its cure he knows ;
 So acts a man of fortitude !
 Yet, well for him who seeks
 Strength, mercy, from the Father, where
 Our fortress standeth sure."

Connected with the religious spirit of the Anglo-Saxon poets is their loving reverence for woman. "It is," says Mr. Brooke in his Primer of English Literature, "characteristic of Old England that the motives of Eve for eating the fruit are all good, and the passionate and tender conscientiousness of the scene of the repentance is equally characteristic of the gentler and religious side of the Teutonic character. 'Dark and true and tender is the North !'" After the expulsion from Eden, there are mutual laments and tears and unavailing prayers, and then Adam turns to Eve with sorrowful reproaches for the evil she has brought upon them. Eve, most beautiful of wives, answers thus :

"Thou mayest me blame, loved Adam mine,
With thy words ; yet thee it cannot worse
In thy soul rue, than it doth me at my heart."

And Adam responds with a prayer of penitence :

"O, if I could know the All-Wielder's will,
What I for my chastisement must receive from Him,
Thou shouldst never see, then, anything more swift, though the
sea within
Bade me wade the God of Heaven, bade we wend me hence
In the flood to fare. . . . Nor so fearfully profound,
Nor so mighty were the Ocean that my mind should ever
waver—
Into the abyss I'd plunge ; if I only might
Work the will of God !"

As regards the emotions generally, the northern type of character is, no doubt, less given to demonstration than the southern. The North does not wear its heart upon its sleeve. But it possesses a depth, earnestness, and constancy to which the South is a stranger. This is true, in part, of the dark passions of pride and hatred ; but it is especially true of the sentiment of love. There is, perhaps, a present heat and intensity in the southern type of the emotion which is wanting, or at all events is not usually manifested, in its northern counterpart. But notwithstanding this, man's love of woman is a far more influential and persistent force among the Teutonic than among the Romanic races. When the first glamour of love has worn off, the Saxon, so far as he is representative of the genius of his nation, is not cloyed by possession of the desired object, but comes to experience a deeper and more purified emotion, which only grows stronger as time goes on. Such a type of conjugal love is different from that of the South, though it be approached by the loves of Ulysses and Penelope, of Hector and Andromache. "Darby and Joan," and "John Anderson my Jo," are northern figures ; and—an instance of the continuity of the Saxon character—we find something resembling their affection in the earliest records of our race. "Dear," say the old Gnomic verses, written before the migration of our ancestors to these shores—"Dear is the welcome guest to the Frisian wife, when the vessel strands. His ship is come, and her husband to his home, her own

provider ; and she calls him in, washes his weedy garment, and gives him new raiment : 'tis pleasant on land to him whom his love awaits." Compare, too, the lines in the *Lover's Message*, where the lover declares that nothing can assuage his sorrow : "Neither jewels nor horses, nor joys beside the mead, nor any of Earl's treasure here upon the earth, if he should lack her with whom of yore he pledged his troth" ; or the lines in the *Wife's Complaint*, where the wife laments the sad lot of her husband, separated from her he loves :

"O my wooer, so outworned, by the water overflown,
In that dreary dwelling ! There endures my dear one
Anguish mickle of the mind—far too oft remembers him
Of a happier home ! O, to him is woe,
Who shall with a weary longing wait for the beloved !"

And it is only where conjugal love of this kind exists that we can have such a home-picture as that revealed to us in the beautiful fragment on the *Fortunes of Man*—a fragment which likewise breathes the characteristic fatalism of the oldest English poetry :

"Full often it falls out, by Fortune from God,
That a man and a maid in this world may marry,
Find cheer in the child whom they care for and cherish,
Tenderly tend it, until the time comes,
Beyond the first years, when the young limbs increasing,
Grown firm with life's fulness are formed for their work.
Fond father and mother so guide it and feed it,
Give gifts to it, clothe it : God only can know
What lot to its latter days life has to bring."

(*Prof. Morley's version, Eng. Library, Vol. I.*)

At the risk of some repetition, we again point out that it is this continuity of sentiment in the English race which makes the study of our early poets of so great importance to us. In reading other early literature we are, to some extent, in the position of mere spectators—the actors are foreign to us in race, and sometimes in thought. But Caedmon and Cynewulf, the unknown writers of *Beowulf* and the lyrics, are of ourselves, and even when they are poorest and barest and dullest, we recognise the kinship.

ART. III.—THREE POETS OF THE YOUNGER
GENERATION.

1. *Poems.* By WILLIAM WATSON. London : Macmillan & Co.
2. *Lachrymae Musarum.* By WILLIAM WATSON. London : Macmillan & Co.
3. *A Country Muse.* By NORMAN GALE. London : D. Nutt.
4. *Silhouettes.* By ARTHUR SYMONS. London : Elkin Mathews and Lane.

“ **I**F I were you,” says Hilda Wangel to Ibsen’s “Master Builder,” when he confesses to the morbid jealousy of the rising talent around him—which is one of the great moral perils of the man who has made his reputation—“ If I were you, I should get up and open the door to the younger generation.”

Whatever may be the case in other departments of literature and art, it does not appear that the young poets of our day have much cause to complain of any “Master Builder” in their craft. The door of public recognition and favour stands open to them. Judging from the tone of recent criticism, it almost seems as if a sort of panic had seized the reading public since the last great poetic light of the Victorian age went out. Everywhere men are scanning the heavens for new luminaries, which, though they should not be stars of the first magnitude, may at least save the period on which we are entering from the reproach of utter barrenness as compared with that great age whose loftiest seer was Wordsworth and whose supreme artist, Tennyson. There is a pathetic anxiety to make the best of what remains, to dwell with eager hope on the promise of the many promising singers of the new time—to be

“ to their faults a little blind
And to their virtues very kind,”

in so much that one is almost tempted to think that poets and critics hitherto have combined to exaggerate, for their own ends, the difficulty of the ascent to Parnassus.

Yet one hesitates to say even so much, when the most distin-

guished of our younger band has told us in lines of which the stately flow recalls the best traditions of the Augustan age, how bitter and how weary is the task of besieging year after year "the world's reluctant ear." His lucid, dignified, and eminently thoughtful work is evidently the result of no hasty or irreverent impulse; and he may fairly rejoice that the recognition which has come to him at last has not been easily or cheaply won. The excellence after which he has striven must be "wooed," as George Eliot beautifully says, "with industrious thought and patient renunciation of small desires." His poems evince, almost invariably—apart from certain attempts in a semi-jocose vein, wherein he seems to be wandering from his true path—the elevation of tone that comes from a high aim steadfastly pursued, and the self-restraining grace that is learnt from much intercourse with the masters of thought and style.

He sounded his challenge to the world when *The Prince's Quest* appeared. The little volume made no great impression on the public at large, but was praised by Rossetti, and although the abundant good nature of the poet-painter may be held to detract from the value of his favourable opinion in many cases, yet here, at any rate, time has confirmed him. The originality of the young poet's genius was evidently still held in check by the mightier magic of Shelley and Keats, but in the following lines (which Rossetti had marked in his own copy as specially excellent) we catch the individual accent of the poet of *Wordsworth's Grave*:

"About him was a ruinous fair place
 Which Time, who still delighted to abase
 The highest, and throw down what men do build
 With splendid prideful barrenness, had filled,
 And dust of immemorial dreams and breath
 Of silence, which is next of kin to death. . . .
 And but a furlong's space beyond, there towered
 In midmost of that silent realm deflowered,
 A palace builded of black marble, whence
 The shadow of a swart magnificence
 Falling, upon the outer space begot
 A dream of darkness, where the night was not."

Very early in his career, however, he deserted the region of enchanted gardens and dream-built palaces, and all the splendid

wonderland of the romantic poets. His "Lines to Professor Dowden" picture the process of development which brought him under the influence of Wordsworth. Referring to Shelley, he says:

"In my young days of fervid poesy
He drew me to him with his strange far light,
He held me in a world all clouds and gleams
And vasty phantoms, where even man himself
Moved like a phantom 'midst the clouds and gleams.
Anon the earth recalled me, and a voice,
Murmuring of dethroned divinities,
And dead times, deathless upon sculptured urns,
Awhile constrained me to a sweet duresse
And thraldom. . . .
And then a third voice, long unheeded, held
Claustral and cold, and dissonant and tame,
Found me at last with ears to hear. It sang
Of lowly sorrows and familiar joys,
Of simple manhood, artless womanhood,
And childhood fragrant as the limpid morn ;
And from the humble matter nigh at hand
Ascending and dilating, it disclosed
Spaces and avenues, calm heights and breadths
Of vision, whence I saw each blade of grass
With roots that grope about eternity,
And in each drop of dew upon each blade
The mirror of the inseparable All.
The first voice, then the second in their turns,
Had sung me captive, this voice sang me free.
Therefore above all vocal sons of men,
Since him whose sightless eyes saw hell and heaven,
To Wordsworth be my homage, thanks, and love."

But even Wordsworth's influence has not made a nature-poet of Mr. Watson. The ruling interest in his poetry is one that connects him with Boileau and Pope rather than with the great singers of the Victorian age. His eye is bent neither on the face of nature nor on the deeds of men. His verse is critical, didactic, reflective, appealing as much, perhaps, to the judgment as to the heart. The labours and conquests of the human intellect, the wrestling of the human spirit with the mysteries of its lot, these things absorb him, and these he treats in something of a student fashion. There is nothing concrete, dramatic, unpremeditated, about his poetry.

Milton's famous definition would not meet it. It is too self-conscious to be simple, too little concerned with nature and man at first-hand to be sensuous, too abstract to be passionate. He is so far from having Wordsworth's patient, lover-like eye for the slightest detail of natural life that even such a summer landscape as Matthew Arnold gives us in *Thyrsis*, of the boat gliding along the quiet reaches of the upper Thames, past meadows fragrant with new-mown hay, while the mowers "stand with suspended scythe to see it pass," is as much beyond his power of limning as if it were the gorgeously coloured chivalric pageant of the *Idylls*, or such a lava-like outburst from a heart hot with passion and crime as that of the guilty Ottima in *Pippa Passes*.

It is easy, on comparing Mr. Watson's work with that of the great poets who have lately passed away, to see where its limitations lie. Yet within these limitations it has a charm all its own—the charm of clear judgment, of fine discrimination, of a style singularly apt and forcible, with a grave melody of its own. Take, for instance, these lines from *Wordsworth's Grave*:

" Not Milton's keen translunar music thine ;
 Not Shakspere's cloudless, boundless, human view ;
 Not Shelley's flush of rose on peaks divine ;
 Nor yet the wizard twilight Coleridge knew.
 What hadst thou that could make so large amends
 For all thou hadst not, and thy peers possessed,
 Motion and fire, swift means to radiant ends ?
 Thou hadst for wearied feet the gift of rest."

This is good criticism to begin with, but it is criticism "touched with emotion," lifted out of the dusty region of prose by a breath of imaginative insight that reveals, not only these kingdoms of the mind and the glory of them, but the deep pathos of the common lot, the yearning and the effort of the general heart of man—a yearning too often unconscious, a strife too often misdirected—after that

" Peace, whose names are also rapture, power,
 Clear sight and love; for these are parts of peace."

"The world of books" is evidently no dead world to Mr.

Watson. He has taken an active part, as the sonnets entitled "Ver Tenebrosum" remain to inform us, in the events of our own time, yet one feels that the heroes of modern political strife count for little with him in comparison with those whom he pictures in *Lachrymae Musarum* as welcoming their brother to the Elysian Fields :

"Rapt though he be from us,
Virgil salutes him, and Theocritus,
Proudly a gaunt right hand doth Dante reach,
Milton and Wordsworth bid him welcome home,
Bright Keats to touch his raiment doth beseech,
Calm Spenser, Chaucer suave,
His equal friendship crave :
And godlike spirits hail him guest in speech
Of Athens, Florence, Weimar, Stratford, Rome."

The grave voice of Mr. Watson's muse kindles with a passion of restrained emotion as she recites that glorious muster-roll. He is evidently of that choice little company—rare in all ages—who have devoted themselves to literature, "all for love and nothing for reward." The great poets of past times are not mere names to him. They are his heroes, his teachers, at whose feet he delights to sit, with whose thoughts he is more familiar than with the faces of his friends. While other young poets were celebrating the "wild joy of living," or writing sonnets to their mistress's eyebrows, the master-singers who had gone before were his inspiration, and the work that made his name was a tribute to the most revered of all.

"I follow Beauty, of her train am I,"

he writes, in words that sound like an echo of Milton's, but the beauty he follows is that ideal perfection, that "spirit divine of universal loveliness" of which all earthly fairness is but the broken shadow. In his most wistful moods he never loses the consciousness of the harmonious rhythm that controls the minor discords of nature and life, and his attitude before the problems of man's destiny is as far removed from the bitter bravado that some brilliant writers have lately made fashionable, as from the whining melancholy of others. He writes of

"That secluded spirit unknowable,
 The mystery we make darker with a name,
 The somewhat which we name but cannot know,
 Even as we name a star, and only see
 His quenchless flashings forth which ever show
 And ever hide him, and which are not he."

Yet his pattern man was one

"Who trusted Nature, trusted Fate, nor found
 An ogre sovereign on the throne of things,
 Who felt the incumbence of the Unknown, yet bore
 Without resentment the Divine reserve."

Mr. Watson has attempted satire on individuals, a style of writing that needs success to justify it. His attempts are doubly unfortunate, as reminding one at an infinite distance of the swift rapier-thrust of Pope. But neither Pope nor any of that school could emulate, either in feeling or expression, such a poem as this entitled "The Glimpse." It illustrates Mr. Watson's most striking excellences as a poet, his restrained intensity of moral enthusiasm and his command of lucid, melodious, and forceful expression :

"Just for a day you crossed my life's dull track,
 Put my ignobler dreams to sudden shame,
 Went your bright way and left me to fall back
 On my own world of poorer thought and aim ;

"To fall back on my meaner world and feel
 Like one who dwelling 'mid some smoke-dimmed town
 In a brief pause of labour's sullen wheel
 'Scaped from the sea's dead dust and factory's frown,

"In stainless daylight saw the pure seas roll,
 Saw mountains pillaring the perfect sky ;
 Then journeyed home, to carry in his soul,
 The torment of the difference till he die."

It is "a far cry" from these poems, almost classical in their stately and reticent grace, to the woodnotes of Norman Gale. But though there may be those among the new brotherhood of song whose work is intrinsically more worthy of attention than his, it tempts at least a passing glance, on account of a freshness of mood and of treatment too rare at present. In speaking of

Herrick—"that splendid insect," as Ruskin rather unkindly calls him—Mr. Saintsbury remarked that he was "the last of those poets who have relished this life heartily while heartily believing in another." One wonders how he could write such a sentence with Browning's "At the Mermaid" to confute him.

" Did you find your life distasteful ?
 My life did and does smack sweet.
 Was your youth of pleasure wasteful ?
 Mine I saved and hold complete.
 Do you feel your joys diminish ?
 When mine fail me, I'll complain.
 Must in death your daylight finish ?
 My sun sets to rise again ! "

A second exception should certainly be made for the author of *A Country Muse* for which the "Argument" of Herrick's *Hesperides* might stand with very little alteration. He, too, sings of youth and love, of fields, orchards, and hedgerows, and country junketings. It is true that the vigour, the gaiety, the grace and gentle humour of such poems as "Corinna's gone a-maying" are unfortunately as much beyond the call of any shepherd minstrel in our century as the elves whom Herrick summoned to attend his Julia. Yet it is no slight praise for Mr. Gale that some of his work recalls, though at a distance, that inimitable music.

The keynote of his poetry is a simple sensuous frank delight in the more obvious and attainable aspects of Nature. The eagle loves the Alpine solitudes, the seagull revels on the bosom of the lonely deep, but the blackbird's nest is in the orchard tree where Laura in her homespun gown may stop to listen for a moment as she passes, knee-deep in the long lush grass. It is from him that Mr. Gale has caught the secret of "the simple unsought charm" that makes his best work so attractive to a neurotic and over-stimulated generation.

We say his best work, for Mr. Gale, if a true poet, is a careless versifier. His graceful "Song of Thanks" is disfigured by such rhymes as those of "there" with "orchestra," and "hear" with "pear." The *Country Muse* may be artless, but she has no right to be unintelligible; and Mr. Gale's obscurity in certain places is of a nature to drive to despair those who

have not recoiled before *Sordello*; it springs so evidently, not from concentration of thought but from indifferent workmanship. No "songsmith" (to use Mr. Watson's phrase) can afford, however spontaneous his inspiration, to neglect the minutiae of his craft. The inartistic use of one word is sufficient, as in the instance that follows, to mar the effect of a poem :

" If thou but pipe I will a pilgrim be
 Along the outskirt bushes of the wood ;
 Fly forward, white-throat, searching still for me
 Some leafy shrine of utter quietude.
 There stay awhile and sing ;
 Upon me fling
 The ditties of the woodland that I love.
 And call to join the song
 From out this beechen throng
 The deep-toned consolation of the dove."

Is it necessary to note how the impression of sylvan peace which the poem as a whole produces is marred by the introduction of that unfortunate monosyllable "fling," with all the ideas of violent and abrupt motion that it inevitably suggests? If the poet's range, as in this case, is bounded by so narrow a limit as that of a Warwickshire lane, there is the more need that his work within that limit should be as perfect as he can make it.

"Il faut cultiver son jardin," says Voltaire; but too often the plot of garden ground is narrow, and the toil of hoe and spade become monotonous, while, on the other hand, the awakened and curious public cries out incessantly, "Produce, produce!" The temptation of the poet in such a case is to write too much and too rapidly, to "force his note," to exaggerate any little quaintnesses of manner that may have hit the popular taste, to make excursions into fields unsuited to his genius. There are signs in Mr. Gale's recent work that he has not altogether escaped these snares. The poem called "Woman" in the second series of *A Country Muse*, is a good specimen of his bad manner :

" She is made of a gallon of tears,
 A pottle of whims ;
 She is mercy and hate in a breath,
 Half venom and hymns."

And so on in a regrettable jumble of mixed metaphor and cheap satire.

But Mr. Gale has little reason to regret that the gods have not made him epigrammatic. Such poems as the "Apology," "A Dead Friend," "My Content," win easy forgiveness for his literary sins, and tempt the imagination forward to conceive rich possibilities of development for so charming a talent. How gay and wholesome a spirit breathes through these stanzas from the "Invitation":

" Come, thrushes, blackcaps, redpolls, all,
To eat my Laura's bounty ;

There's not a sweetheart treats you so
In all this leafy county.

Yes, sparrows too, for God forbid,
That here, in bloom and grasses,
My love and I should rank you birds
In low and upper classes.

" My sweetheart pressed me yesterday
To give you of our plenty ;
She begged one glowing tree for you,
From out this line of twenty.
O birds ! her cherry mouth more fair
Than ever painter figured,
Could make me prodigal of gold,
Had I been born a niggard.

" God gave me, with a willing hand,
A shore of sky and mountain,
And time to idle in the grass,
And dream beside the fountain.
He gave me angels for my house—
A wife, a rosy darling ;
I pay my tithes to Him through you,
O linnet, finch, and starling.

" As statues in a town are draped
Before their great unveiling,
So did we net this cherry-tree,
Before your bill's assailing ;
And Laura's is the lovely hand
That frees her shining bounty.
Fall to, O birds ! and praise her name
Through all this leafy county."

If there is too little self-conscious art about the work of

Mr. Norman Gale, there is, one is tempted to think, too much of it with Mr. Arthur Symons. He belongs to a school that is "curious of beauty in rapid and accidental effects." His last volume, *Silhouettes*, is a collection of impressionist sketches, most of them very short, and each an attempt to give permanence to some flying glimpse of the visible world, some passing mood of the mind, some moment that stands out luminously distinct among the many lost in the grey distance of past years. Here is one :

ON THE BEACH.

" Night, a grey sky, a ghostly sea,
 The soft beginning of the rain,
 Black on the horizon sails that wane
 Into the distance mistily.

" The tide is rising : I can hear
 The soft roar broadening far along
 As deep through depths of sleep, a song
 Borne inward to a dreamy ear.

" Softly the stealthy night descends,
 The black sails fade into the sky.
 Is not this, where the sea-line ends,
 The shore-line of infinity ?

" I cannot think or dream : the grey,
 Unending waste of sea and night,
 Dull, impotently infinite,
 Blots out the very hope of day."

It scarcely needs the titles of some of these little poems, or the dedication of one of them (*Hommage à Paul Verlaine*) to indicate the influence which has left upon them so unmistakable an impress. Like so many others, he has come under the spell of that strange nature—half battered Bohemian, half unhappy child—with its exquisite sensitiveness to every aspect of outer life, its violin-like delicacy and subtlety of expression, its power of throwing the "wizard twilight" of a strange and mystic significance about the objects that the ordinary man passes with the dull habitual glance of one who sees them without seeing, every day of his life. Even those most incurious about a literature not their own, know something of Verlaine, and of the child-like self-abandonment with which

wearying of the base employ of his rare gifts he turned his back upon his past in a passionate return to the faith learnt at his mother's knee. For a parallel to the beauty, originality, and simplicity of his religious poems, one must go back to Villon's "Prayer of his Mother to Our Lady." It is not these, but such poems as his *Aquarelles*, which seem to have affected the development of Mr. Symons's poetic gift, and, as we venture to think, somewhat unfortunately.

The charm of Verlaine is too special and individual to be the heritage even of the most devoted disciple, and it is that charm alone which gives value to work intrinsically so slight as this. There is power enough in the scattered sketches of *Silhouettes* to do justice to a large and solid conception on a basis of "fundamental brain-work." It seems a pity to have it frittered away in doing imperfectly a kind of thing that is only tolerable when it is exquisite.

In the fine stanzas introducing the volume of poems called *Day and Night* Mr. Symons thus portrays the art to which he has vowed himself :

"She stands amid the tumult and is calm,
She reads the hearts self-closed against the light ;
She probes an ancient wound yet brings no balm,
She is ruthless yet she doeth all things right.
With equal feet she treads an equal path,
Nor recks the goings of the sons of men ;
She hath for sin no scorn, for wrong no wrath,
No praise for virtue and no tears for pain.
The winter of the world is in her soul."

This may be Art, as our neighbours across the Channel understand it—this figure which seems copied from Dürer's "Melancolia"—but it is not the "heavenly muse" of Milton and of Gray. What a contrast between this accent which aims at elaborate calm only to attain the *vanitas vanitatum* of a hopeless world-weariness, and, we do not say the lofty calm of a Wordsworth, but the frank joyousness of a Keats. We have often been told of late, in spite of the famous dictum of that great Greek who gave as the aim of tragic drama, the purification of the soul, that art has nothing to do with morality—which is nearly equivalent to saying that it has nothing to do with life. It is going one step further, and that a somewhat

unexpected step, to assert that it has nothing to do with pleasure. Yet if "Winter in the Soul" means anything, it means the negation of joy. All true art surely involves delight, the delight of the artist in his toil, as well as the delight of the reader or spectator in the results of it; and Mr. Symons's poems would not give his readers the enjoyment that they do if his practice were not better than his theory. We may note that the one poem in his recent volume, "Emmy," in which natural feeling has conquered the indifference which he cherishes as the true artistic temper, and betrayed him for once into a little "scorn for sin" and "wrath at wrong" is by far the strongest and most artistically successful in the book.

Whenever interest in the things of the mind slackens in the mass of the people, and artistic interests tend to become in consequence the monopoly of a class of literary mandarins, execution will come to be rated above idea, and the thing said come to be considered as of slight importance compared with the manner of saying it. Upon this there follows inevitably the degradation of the artist and of his work. The man with a disinterested passion for beauty is, even though his ideal be low, redeemed to some extent by that passion; the man who writes or paints what he sees with sincerity will compensate in some degree by his sincerity for the defect of his vision. These have their minds fixed on something beyond themselves, and to them shall be granted such revelations of beauty and truth as can never await the conceited craftsmen who arrogate to themselves the name of artist, either in colours or words. The man, be he painter or poet, who views his subject merely as a means of illustrating his own dexterity of handling, is an idolater in the sacred fane of art, and deserves such punishment as the prophet of old denounced against those who "bow down to their own net and worship their own drag." The clumsiest Byzantine monk, who laboriously sketched out a lantern-jawed, long-eyed Madonna on the wall of his cell, in defiance of every rule of drawing, but with a heart full of yearning toward that ideal beauty which his hand was so inapt to render, was nearer the true artist-spirit in his failure than some stars of our modern exhibitions in their triumph. The ploughman who wrote "To Mary in Heaven" and "A Man's a

Man for a' that" will be remembered by his love and anguish, by his honest pride and genial satire, long after the dust is thick on the forgotten works of those whose "Art" (to quote Mr. Symons once more) "recked not the goings of the sons of men"—an art "without tears for pain or wrath for wrong," loveless, hopeless, faithless, and so inevitably doomed to oblivion.

But with us in England, at least, poetry has not sunk to be the plaything of a clique of literati. To us it is still

"The descant
Whereto for ever
Dances the world.

"Lo, with the ancient
Roots of man's nature,
Twines the eternal
Passion of song.

"Ever love fans it,
Ever life feeds it,
Time cannot age it,
Death cannot slay.

"Trees in their blooming,
Tides in their flowing,
Stars in their circling,
Tremble with song.

"God on His throne is
Eldest of poets.
Unto his measures
Moveth the whole."

These lines are from Mr. Watson's poem, "England my Mother." While our young poets generally view their vocation in this large, reverent, and hopeful spirit, there seems little reason to fear for the future of English song.

ART. IV.—METHODIST AGITATION OF 1835.

1. *History of Wesleyan Methodism.* Vol. III. *Modern Methodism.* By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1862.
2. *The Connexional Economy of Wesleyan Methodism in its Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Aspects.* By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1879.
3. *A Collection of Pamphlets and Leaflets, in the possession of the Rev. JOHN S. SIMON.* 1834-35.

THE historical student who has closely examined the facts connected with the “agitations” which have occurred in the Wesleyan Methodist Church will perceive that each revealed a special tendency, and illustrated a definite principle in the realm of ecclesiastical affairs. The first division in Methodism, led by Alexander Kilham, was, in effect, an uprising against the predilections, and to some extent also the principles of John Wesley, regarded as a Churchman and ecclesiastical ruler. It was a Dissenting rebellion, which aimed, mainly and radically, at modifying the Methodism of Wesley, by interlacing into its texture some of the arrangements of Presbyterianism, and by introducing also some of the provisions and principles of Independency. The attempt was a complete failure, although, in connection with it, some useful and convenient minor regulations were suggested, which were approved and embodied in the administration of Wesleyan Methodism. The second schism, thirty years later, found its occasion ostensibly in the organ question at Leeds, in 1827. In reality it was an uprising of lay-officials, local preachers and leaders, against what was regarded as the up-growth of clericalism, of which the introduction of the organ was taken as the sign. It combined some Puritan or Presbyterian prejudices against organs and external ornamentation with such a dislike of pastoral functions and prerogatives as is found to-day among the “Brethren.” This movement, although it was strong and intense within a narrow circle, did not spread far, nor did it

gather a large number of adherents. It left behind it, however, an organisation known as the Protestant Methodists, which exerted no little influence upon the events of 1835. The third was led at first and for a while by Dr. Warren. This division, as we have intimated, partook largely of the spirit of the Protestant Methodism of Leeds. It was also distinguished by the degree in which it was penetrated with the spirit and principles of Congregational independency. Summing up, we may say that the idea of lay-eldership ruled in the first of the three divisions we have noted. It gave colour and character to the contentions concerning the constitution and functions of the leaders' meeting, as to the position of the minister, and as to the demands for lay-delegation. Antagonism to the pastoral idea was the characteristic of the "Protestant Methodist" schism at Leeds. The same antagonism also prevailed, though not with the same intensity, in the Manchester revolt of 1834. The subject of lay-delegation was not forgotten, but, as we shall show in this article, that question was subordinated to the demand for the independency of circuits and local courts. In this respect the agitation of 1835 was opposed to the principles of the "New Connexion" as distinctly and radically as to those which lie at the foundation of the Wesleyan Methodist Constitution.

In our former articles on the "agitation" of 1834-5* we have followed the inconsistent and disastrous course of Dr. Warren through all its variations and windings till we left him anchored in an obscure parochial cure of the Church of England. We have nothing more to say of his personal character and history. We have also traced the course of the cruel agitation which he provoked as it wrought out its ruinous results in different parts of the country, as for example, in Lancashire and in Cornwall. Nothing more need be added as to this phase of the history. It remains for us to trace out the principles and claims which successively asserted themselves as the agitation proceeded, in their strictly ecclesiastical aspects. In this respect especially, the record of the past may be seasonably suggestive and not a little instructive to us at the present time.

* See Nos. CXLVII., CXLIX., CLIV., CLV., and CLVII. of this REVIEW.

The ecclesiastical student who is anxious to ascertain the exact nature of the reforms in the Constitution of Methodism which were demanded by the Grand Central Association, which was formed in Manchester in 1834, and with which at first Dr. Warren was conspicuously connected, is much perplexed by the "wild and wandering cries" which rang through the Methodist societies in 1834-5. Sometimes the confusion created by conflicting voices is so great that he is inclined to turn aside and abandon a hopeless task. Occasionally, however, there is a lull in the tempest, and words fall upon the ear which are not only clearly articulated, but which also seem to indicate that the "Reformers" contended for principles which have been subsequently accepted by the Conference, and now form an integral part of the Wesleyan Methodist Constitution. It is at this point that the listener must exercise wariness. If he is too eager, he will be in danger of rushing to the conclusion that the agitators of 1835 had the misfortune to live before their time, that they have been justified by subsequent events, and that the Conference has since conceded all the reforms for which its antagonists contended. We believe that some men who possess a slight acquaintance with Methodist history and the principles of the Methodist Constitution, have accepted this theory, and rest upon it with confidence. We now state the demands of the Grand Central Association, and will show that the theory we have mentioned is not supported by the facts of history.

Dr. Warren and his associates commenced their campaign with the reiterated assurance that they desired "nothing new" in Methodism. If we give them credit for candour, it will be impossible to affirm that they were sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Methodist Constitution. The course of the controversy instructed them, and they had to confess that they had made a mistake in this article of their original programme. When the regulations of Methodism were defined by the Chancery judges in the Civil Courts, the agitators, finding that Methodist law and the law-courts of the country were against them, united in a demand for radical reform. It would only cause confusion if we attempted to ascertain the character of the changes which were advocated by the leaders of the

Association from the reports of public meetings. In order that we may know the demands of the Grand Central Association, we will pass into the comparative calm of a deliberative assembly in which men weighed their words, and sought to display the skill of constructive statesmen.*

As the time approached for the meeting of the Conference at which Dr. Warren would have to stand his trial for his numerous breaches of Methodist discipline, the master-spirits of the Grand Central Association felt that it would be wise to gather their supporters together, and consult them upon the course of their future conduct. The number of such supporters was unknown. The more sanguine used high figures freely, and even the cautious were tempted to indulge in encouraging efforts of the imagination. Many of the public meetings had been well attended; an active correspondence had been carried on with the circuits, and no pains had been spared to persuade the societies to join in the revolt against the "tyranny" of the Conference. At that time there were upwards of four hundred circuits in Great Britain and Ireland, and in those circuits there were more than three hundred and seventeen thousand members. From such a constituency it was hoped that a large representation would be sent to uphold the principles for which the agitators contended. It was, therefore, agreed that a series of meetings should be held in Manchester, in the month of April 1835; and strenuous efforts were made to secure the presence of Methodist reformers from all parts of the kingdom.

When the morning of April 20 arrived it was found that about one hundred "delegates" had assembled in the Oak-street Chapel, Manchester. A haze of uncertainty rests upon the conditions of their "delegation," but a few facts can be ascertained which will reveal the *personnel* of the meeting. Scanning the list of those who were present, we note that the wide area occupied by Methodism was but slightly represented. Aggrieved persons from forty-three circuits were in attendance. More than half of the "delegates" came from the storm-centre

* The Corrected Reports of the Debates and Decisions of the Provisional Meeting of Wesleyan Methodist Delegates at Manchester, from April 20 to April 23, 1835. Mr. Simon's Collection.

of the agitation—that is, Manchester, Liverpool, and the neighbourhood. A large proportion of the meeting consisted of men who were at that time members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society; but the names of twenty-five persons who had been excluded by disciplinary action appear in the muster-roll. Ministers were conspicuous by their absence. Dr. Warren, who was under “suspension”; Robert Emmett, an English supernumerary, and Mr. Lamb, a preacher from Ireland, represented ministerial discontent.

The Assembly was not without its notables, chief amongst whom we place Robert Eckett, a builder and local preacher. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, who was present to represent the views of certain London trustees. We are chiefly impressed, however, with the fact that six members of the Protestant Methodist Society attended this meeting of “Wesleyan Methodist delegates.” Their attendance was embarrassing. The agitators, in their appeals to the British public, had taken great care to describe themselves as Wesleyan Methodists. They had also issued special instructions to those who were excluded from the society not to join any other religious organisation. The Protestant Methodists, in consequence of the action of the special district meeting held in Leeds in 1827,* had not only seceded, but had also formed themselves into a separate community, and their presence in a meeting of “Wesleyan Methodist delegates” led to heart searching on the part of those who appreciated the value of consistency. Robert Eckett, having the courage of his convictions, stated his objections, and raised a discussion which lasted throughout the morning session. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Sigston, a Leeds schoolmaster, who was the leader of the Protestant Methodists, explained that he and his companions were present at the invitation of the Grand Central Association. He then took up high ground, and announced his determination not to rest short of “a thorough Scriptural reform” in Methodism. Far from insisting to remain in the meeting, he affirmed that if the “delegates” resolved to go to Conference for anything less than complete reform, the Protestant Metho-

* See No. CXL. of this REVIEW (July 1888).

dists would leave them, "taking their Bibles in their hands." Dr. Warren replied to Mr. Sigston. While expressing a hope that he would derive instruction from the experience of the Protestant Methodists, he said that "as they did not seem to be fully prepared to go with him and his friends, he trusted they would not be offended if he said that, while he thanked them for their sympathy and for their wise and judicious advice, he and his friends would consider themselves bound to act according to their own convictions."

On the other side it was contended that inasmuch as the Protestant Methodists had joined the Association, they ought to be allowed to take part in the proceedings. As the conversation continued we perceive that the hesitation to receive the Protestant Methodists did not arise solely from a desire to observe the proprieties of the occasion. There was "a rift in the lute." The question which divided the meeting in the Oak-street Chapel had been previously debated not only at Leeds, but also in the Central Committees of Manchester and Liverpool. It had led to differences of opinion, and when the "delegates" assembled it was still an unsettled point. The line of cleavage between the Protestant Methodists and the Grand Central Association is not easily traced, but it seems to have concerned the important question of lay delegation. It is sometimes asserted that all the agitations in Methodism have arisen on the question of lay representation in the Conference; and that, if the concession had been made earlier, the divisions in Methodism would have been avoided. It is only necessary to cite the facts of the Warrenite agitation to correct this popular error. It is true that the original programme of the Association contained a clause which concerned the attendance of laymen at the Conference; but that attendance was for the purpose of overawing the preachers, and administering an occasional prick to a sluggish conscience. The laymen, in Dr. Warren's scheme, were to sit apart, their duty being to keep an eye upon the ministers when a vote was taken which affected the liberties of the people. It is no wonder that the *Christian Advocate* blighted such a proposal with scorn. The agitation proceeded briskly on other lines; and, up to the beginning of the meeting we are describing,

Dr. Warren and his associates still vacillated upon the supreme question of lay delegation. In that meeting, however, there were men who possessed the power of impact which arises from steadfast conviction, and we shall see that the little band of Protestant Methodists speedily obtained a commanding influence over the deliberations of the assembly.

Mr. Matthew Johnson, a Protestant Methodist, who, as a local preacher, figured conspicuously in the Leeds discussions in 1827, supported Mr. Sigston. Speaking decisively, he said that "he must conscientiously object to any society which did not fully admit the principle of lay delegation into its Constitution." Using plain language, he told the "delegates" that unless he was permitted to take part in the discussions and decisions of the meeting on the same terms as any other member present, he should retire. Mr. Sigston, speaking once more, said that he and his friends had carefully considered the subject; that they had consulted their respective societies; and that they would on no account associate with the United Committee unless they were prepared to ask a full scriptural reform which should especially include lay delegation. Dr. Warren closed the discussion by expressing his disappointment at the attitude taken up by the Protestant Methodists. He hoped that Mr. Johnson would reconsider his decision, and not walk out of the meeting "because they were not fully prepared to go the whole length with him." When the assembly dispersed, it must have been clear to all that a demand for lay delegation was the price which would have to be paid for the continued co-operation of the Protestant Methodists.

During the dinner hour a consultation took place, and its effect was seen when the "delegates" re-assembled. The Protestant Methodists having declared that they would abide by the decision of the meeting to obtain a reform in Wesleyan Methodism based on New Testament principles, and having also declared that, in case the Conference granted such a reform, they would return to the Wesleyan Methodist Society, the declaration was entered on the minutes, and the Protestant Methodists were admitted to the full privileges of discussion and decision.

This knotty point being settled, the Chairman suggested that the "delegates" should proceed to the consideration of the system of Church government which ought to be recommended to the Conference. But Mr. Johnson demurred. He said that a case requiring such recommendation had not been made out ; like a skilful physician, he demanded that the disease should be ascertained before the remedy was proposed. This advice was accepted. In answer to loud calls, Mr. Sigston rose, and gave a lengthy description of the events which led to the formation of the Protestant Methodist Society, treating the subject from his own point of view. Mr. Rowland, a local preacher who had been excluded from the society in Liverpool, followed, and was succeeded by Dr. Warren and others. The grievances recited by these speakers seemed to have a common source. They sprang from the exercise of the power which the Conference and the preachers possessed. Having arrived at this conclusion, the point which had been so frequently argued in the public meetings presented itself for discussion. "Did the regulations of the Conference, and especially the legislation of 1795 and 1797, justify the proceedings of the Preachers ?" Robert Eckett faced this question, and made an attempt to argue it. He was forced to confess that the law relating to the exclusion of members, *as it stood*, was ambiguous. He was, therefore, driven to ground his arguments on the unauthorised and accommodated version of the Rules published in 1800, in which, as he averred, "all ambiguity was removed."* The confusion of mind displayed in this part of his speech is remarkable in a man who was an acute controversialist. We should have thought that the law as it stood—the law as accepted and endorsed by the Chancellor and Lord Chancellor—ought to have been the subject of discussion. Instead of accepting the wording of the original statute, Robert Eckett preferred the paraphrase of 1800, and thereby nullified his argument. The "delegates," however, were so impressed with his contention that it was determined, after a short discussion, "that the rules of the society, as published in 1800, should be

* As to this inexact and misleading publication, see No. CLIV. of this REVIEW (January 1892).

reprinted by the association immediately, and, after being duly verified, put in extensive circulation." We are at a loss to understand what was meant by the saving clause "after being duly verified." One thing is clear. It did not mean that the language of the later edition of the Rules was to be brought into harmony with the words of the original legislation.

On Tuesday, April 21, the meeting settled down to serious business. Certain resolutions which had been prepared by the United Committee of the Manchester and Liverpool Branches of the Association were read. The fourth resolution contained suggestions for the extension of lay privileges. The United Committee considered that such extension could be effected :

(1) By acknowledging the Quarterly Meetings to consist of trustees, stewards, leaders, and local preachers ; (2) By admitting an equal number of laymen, elected by the Quarterly Meetings by ballot, to associate with the preachers in the District Meetings, at which meetings, all local matters, whether relating to temporal or spiritual concerns, were to be arranged by both parties conjointly, agreeably to the laws of the Connexion ; (3) By the lay members of each District Meeting being empowered to appoint two lay delegates from their own body, who should represent the people by means of a lay conference : no important matter of any description, at all affecting the interests of the Connexion, to be laid before the Societies, for their approbation or disapprobation, until it had first received the approval of the lay conference, the lay conference at all times to be open for the admission of members of society as spectators. The delegates thought that the entire transaction of money matters ought to devolve upon the lay conference.

That, in particular, the members of the Societies should be uncontrollable in their right to assemble on all occasions to consider matters relating to the affairs of the Connexion. That free discussion should be exercised in all its official meetings, and on all subjects which the members of such meetings might consider relating to its interests. In those cases where the chairman refused to put a motion of this description before any of its meetings the individuals present should be at liberty forthwith to appoint another chairman and proceed to business.

The closing resolution was of a drastic character. Amongst other things it suggested that the appeal from leaders and local preachers' meetings in cases of discipline should be to the Quarterly Meetings, and that such appeal should be final. (Report, p. 12.)

In scanning the resolutions of the United Committee, our

attention is specially arrested by two propositions which contain elements of value. It is a singular fact that in 1835 the constitution of the Quarterly Meeting, the principal circuit assembly of Methodism, was still undefined. Its composition varied in accordance with the usage of different neighbourhoods. In times of peace no serious inconvenience appeared to result from the undefined composition of the Quarterly Meeting ; but, in days of agitation, the lack of clear definition was a source of peril.

Another proposition is chiefly valuable because it indicates a defect in Methodist procedure which called for a remedy. Those who have studied human nature as well as the Methodist Constitution must have perceived that the members of Society, and of the Leaders and Quarterly Meetings, needed to be brought into more immediate contact with the Conference. It is true that every member had the right of appeal and petition, and that right was freely exercised in all cases that affected the administration of Methodist discipline. But the administration of discipline sometimes reveals the defects of law, and suggests its alteration. It was at this point that the action of the laity in the circuits was hampered ; the stringent regulation which prevented the holding of "unauthorised meetings" was necessary to the stability of Methodism, but it undoubtedly imprisoned rather than dispersed explosive forces. The circumstances of the time demanded generous concessions under proper conditions. It was clear to eyes that were quietly watching all the proceedings of that day of stress and storm, that the Quarterly Meetings ought to be the safety-valves relieving the societies from the pressure of discontent.

It is unnecessary to linger upon the proposal for the creation of a separate conference of laymen. It perished at its birth. The suggestion, however, served a useful purpose ; it concentrated the attention of the meeting upon the question of lay-delegation. The discussion which ensued revealed considerable divergence of opinion. Some who were present strongly objected to the principle. Mr. Gordon, who had taken a prominent part in the agitation, confessed that he disliked the plan of throwing the government of the Church into the hands of any particular body. He contended for the

right of the local authorities, in whose possession all power ought to be placed. He did not press for the abolition of the Conference, but thought that its chief work should be the appointment and exclusion of preachers. He concluded by proposing "That the basis of the plan for a reformation of Methodism shall be the principle of the right of popular interference in all the operations of the system."

The remainder of the morning session was devoted to the discussion of Mr. Gordon's resolution. Dr. Warren made a speech, in which he said that he doubted if the meeting was fully prepared to come at once to the subject of lay-delegation. He advised the plan of selecting the abuses of the Connexion, and using them as "stepping-stones," by means of which they might arrive at a judgment concerning the necessity of lay-delegation.

In the afternoon Mr. Gordon brought up his resolution in an amended form. Then Dr. Warren rose and made an important speech. Abandoning his "stepping-stone" policy, he boldly declared himself in favour of lay-representation in the Conference. As a man specially acquainted with the provisions of Wesley's Deed of Declaration, he knew the difficulties besetting the scheme. He candidly told the "delegates" that it was not easy to say how he could accomplish what he wished "without abolishing Methodism, or reducing it to a state of ruin." Facing the legal difficulties, he made a noteworthy suggestion. There can be no doubt that when Wesley executed the Deed of Declaration he intended to create and to perpetuate a Conference composed exclusively of itinerant preachers. How could laymen become a part of such a Conference? Dr. Warren, with much acuteness, pointed out the solution of the difficulty, which has since been accepted by Wesleyan Methodist legislators.

Dr. Warren's ingenious suggestion did not attract the attention it deserved. The meeting had not made up its mind that lay-delegation in the Conference was desirable, and, until that conclusion was reached, it did not care to discuss methods by which legal difficulties might be overcome. Reverting to Mr. Gordon's resolution, Robert Eckett criticised it keenly. He was decidedly opposed to the scheme for the creation of an

assembly of laymen which should exercise authority over the whole Connexion. He declared that he would not trust lay-delegates with his spiritual rights. In case a Conference composed of an equal number of preachers and laymen adopted measures of which the people did not approve he asserted that the Conference would turn round and say, "Why your own chosen, faithful delegates were present, and they supported and voted for the resolution." He did not believe that lay-delegation was required by the Scriptures, or was likely to answer as a remedy for the evils of which they complained.

Mr. Gordon having replied upon the whole of the discussion, his resolution was passed, nine persons voting against it. In its amended form it read : "That the basis of the plan for a reformation of Methodism, to be adopted by this meeting, shall be the principle of the right of interference of the members of the Church in the regulation of all its affairs." A sub-committee was appointed to draw up the outlines of a constitution, or a series of propositions based upon the principle of Mr. Gordon's resolution, showing the manner in which that principle might be applied in detail.

In the morning the sub-committee brought up its report. To the chagrin of some of the "delegates" it was found that the sub-committee had not worked out a plan of lay-delegation, but had contented itself with proposing "that the voice of the members of Society, by means of the leaders as their representatives, in conjunction with the other officers of the circuit, shall be brought to bear upon all District Meetings and Conferences, according to some equitable plan to be agreed upon between the Conference and the people; and no rule, or plan, which may relate to the Connexion at large, shall be considered binding until the people have concurred in it." We do not wonder that this was deemed a "lame and impotent conclusion." At the first glance it did not seem to suggest any advance on the *status quo*. The voice of the people, by means of petitions, memorials and appeals, was already "brought to bear upon the proceedings of the District Meetings and Conferences," and the Constitution especially provided for the consultation of the Quarterly Meetings before any "new rule for the Connexion at large" was enacted. Those who had

advocated an elaborate scheme of lay-delegation in the Conference were not slow to express their disappointment with this feeble result of the deliberations of the sub-committee.

Dr. Warren was deeply moved. He insisted, in opposition to Mr. Farrer, that the subject of the representation of the people in the Conference was before the meeting, and he sketched a plan by which, as he thought, that representation might be secured. But the majority of the "delegates" were not inclined to go beyond the bare assertion of a principle. After some discussion the proposition of the sub-committee, as amended by Mr. Sigston, was adopted, fifty-nine voting for it, eight against it, and several abstaining from voting. In its final form it read : "That the voice of the members of Society, by means of the leaders as their representatives, in conjunction with the other officers of the circuit, should be brought to bear upon the proceedings of all district meetings and conferences according to some equitable plan of lay-representation to be agreed upon between the approaching Conference and the delegates who will assemble in Sheffield; and that no rule or plan, which may relate to the Connexion at large, should be considered binding until the people have concurred in it." (Report, p. 22.)

With this resolution the advocates of lay-delegation in the Conference had to be content. The fact was that the heart of the meeting was in another question. That question concerned the authority of the local courts. Many of the "delegates" felt that if they could secure circuit autonomy the constitution of the Conference was a matter of indifference to them. Mr. Parker put this point plainly. He said that "no Conference, however composed, whether of a mixture of lay and clerical members or not: that no Conference should ever have his confidence, or be entrusted with power to legislate for him. He was most anxious to take entirely out of the hands of the Conference the power to rule the churches; and he trusted that, on that point, they were all agreed." Mr. Rowland asserted that "if the just authority of the local meetings were admitted and confirmed by the Conference, that would render lay-delegates unnecessary." Mr. Lamb and Mr. Farrer followed a similar strain.

These strong utterances show that the supreme question, in the estimation of some of the leading members of the Grand Central Association, was not lay-delegation in the Conference, but Circuit independence. In deference to the views of the Protestant Methodists, the discussion of the principle of lay-delegation was full and searching, but it did not lead to any very practical conclusion. When the question of the authority of the lower courts came before the meeting, it needed no discussion ; all were agreed. The harmony which had been disturbed by the introduction of the subject of lay-delegation was restored, and the remaining propositions of the sub-committee were accepted *en bloc*. From one of them we may imagine the rest. It was resolved that "the business of each Circuit, as separate from the rest, shall be finally decided by the local authorities of the Circuit, no District or Conference meeting being allowed to interfere with it, and an appeal lying from all other meetings in the Circuit to the Quarterly Meeting." (Report, p. 18.)

It is not necessary, here and now, to explain and defend the Connexional principle which finds such perfect expression in Wesleyan Methodism. That work has been done by Dr. Rigg in the volume we have indicated at the head of this article, and to which no reply has been attempted. Dr. Rigg, himself a strong and consistent advocate of "the rights of the laity," traces the origin of the "Connexional system" from the Apostolic times, shows the relation between ministerial authority and Church discipline, and then proves the special fitness of inter-dependent Churches for evangelistic or missionary enterprise. Turning to Wesleyan Methodism, he demonstrates the fact that the Connexional system is peculiarly favourable to the creation of an auxiliary lay-agency. He subjects the arguments in favour of congregational independence to friendly but strict criticism ; and, in a closing chapter, discusses the question of popular claims in Church matters on the grounds of explicit Scripture authority, and of Christian propriety and expediency. Taken with his book on *Church Organisation*, it can hardly be disputed—at any rate it has not been disputed—that Dr. Rigg has completely vindicated the Connexional principle as it exists and works in the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Relieved from the necessity of discussing the general question, we will fix our attention upon the particular proposal we have cited from the scheme of the Manchester meeting. In that meeting, as we have said, there were at least twenty-five persons who had felt the keen edge of Methodist discipline. Their exclusion from the Society had roused them to study the Methodist system of government. The subject which had been dull and dry to them while they were law-abiding members was suddenly invested with interest. They took down from their shelves dusty and neglected volumes, and pored over the provisions of the "Plan of Pacification" and the "Leeds Regulations." These venerable documents became the battle-flags of the controversy, and, at the outbreak of hostilities they flashed from hand to hand. Gradually it was seen that, while the legislation of 1795 and 1797 guarded the just rights of the Societies, it also strongly upheld ministerial authority. The reformers, therefore, changed their tone, and treated it with contempt.

Brooding over their own case, those who were excluded from the Society imagined a process by which events might have had a more pleasant termination. It was clear to them that the minister ought not to take the initiative in the exclusion of members. It was intolerable that he should be able to withhold a ticket of membership because he was convinced of the unworthiness of its would-be recipient. It was true that an appeal was allowed to the leaders' meeting, but was not that meeting packed with ministerial nominees? was it not obedient to the beck and nod of the superintendent? If by a miracle the leaders' meeting declined to support the action of the minister, could not he, in his turn, appeal to a minor district meeting, to a special district meeting, to the annual district meeting, and to the Conference? What hope was there for a member so beset with difficulties? Pondering the matter, it seemed to them best that, taking care to reconstitute the local meetings, every case should be settled on the spot; that the authority of the Conference and its district committees over "the business of each circuit" should cease. This arrangement, of course, would have extinguished the right of appeal which the member had to other than the local authorities. Those

appeals were often successful. The Grand Central Association was willing to forego this advantage. It certainly favoured obscure and unbefriended persons rather than those who were able to take a prominent part in Methodist agitation.

The scheme of reform proposed by the "delegates" went further than circuit independency. As we have insisted, it contained provisions for securing important changes in the constitution and management of the local meetings. We have mentioned the suggestion concerning Circuit Quarterly Meetings, and it is only necessary to say that Leaders' and Local Preachers' Meetings were also subjected to the criticism of the Manchester "delegates." It was the opinion of some who were present that even circuit independence would fail to remedy the evils of which they complained so long as the minister possessed the power to nominate leaders, local preachers, and stewards; and, therefore, to determine the character of the local courts. The "United Committees" of Liverpool and Manchester had boldly suggested that leaders and poor or society stewards should be proposed by any member of the Leaders' Meeting, and that the same practice of nomination should obtain in Local Preachers' and Quarterly Meetings—in fact that the ministerial right of nomination should be destroyed. In their final form the proposals of the "delegates" do not contain any express declaration on this point; but, as the whole trend of the "scheme" is in the direction of the subordination of the ministers to the laity, we can scarcely suppose that the Grand Central Association was willing to alter its carefully expressed opinion, and leave this important privilege in the hands of the preachers. The only reference to the ministers in the six propositions brought up by the sub-committee, and accepted by the "delegates" is contained in the proposal concerning local meetings. It is as follows: "The itinerant preachers having a voice in all such meetings; and the superintendent, or, in his absence, one of the preachers in the circuit, occupying the chair." The most painstaking reading between the lines fails to decipher any ministerial right of nomination in such a statement.

Apart from the discussion of the two leading questions of lay-delegation and circuit independency the transactions of the

Manchester meeting do not interest us. The proceedings were brought to a close on Thursday, April 23, with votes of thanks; the services of John Stephens, the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, who was present, being especially recognised.

The "corrected report" of the proceedings of the Manchester meeting, published by John Stephens, is a very valuable aid to the understanding of the perplexed counsels of the Grand Central Association. In it floating opinions are crystallised. They take shape, and the calm inquirer can inspect them at his leisure. In reading the discussions, it is impossible to avoid comparing the slowness with which the conclusions concerning lay-delegation were reached with the swiftness with which resolutions touching circuit independence were carried. The hesitancy and hostility which were displayed towards the former make it impossible for us to accept the confidently uttered assertion that "all the agitations in Wesleyan Methodism have arisen on the question of lay-representation in the Conference." It is clear that in the opinion of most of the agitators lay-delegation occupied a subordinate place, and that by some of them it was considered an evil.

We do not wonder that the proposed legislation of the Grand Central Association was inspired by a sense of personal injury. It is, however, certain that the recollection of the discipline that had been exercised on some of their number led the Manchester "delegates" to overlook the fact that, in spite of the supposed defects of the system, the spiritual work of Methodism was extraordinarily successful. The Association had checked that work in some localities, but great harvest-fields spread throughout the kingdom, untouched, as yet, by the blight of suspicion, unbroken by the storm of agitation. Neglectful of this spectacle of spiritual prosperity, anxious for self-vindication, the reformers shaped their proposals to secure constitutional changes which they thought important; which would at least enable them to regain the positions from which they had been excluded.

The overwhelming mass of the Methodist people was arrayed against them. Those who were best acquainted with the history and constitution of Methodism knew that the way to ultimate

spiritual prosperity did not lie in the direction indicated by the reformers. To lower the status of the ministers, to break up the circuits into isolated fragments, to reduce the Conference to impotence, to destroy it, if it arrested the development of Radical theories—these were measures that did not seem calculated to secure a continuance of the wonderful prosperity which gladdened the hearts of the Methodist people. Thinking of the task which Christ had set them to do in the nation and the world, they were content with a system of church government which enabled them to accomplish their mission. That system might not be ideally perfect, it might lie open to the criticism of the ecclesiastical doctrinaire and to the assault of the Radical revolutionist, it might contain elements which ought to be judiciously removed, principles which ought to be quietly and fully developed, but the Methodist people clung to it and defended it with unwavering loyalty from the assaults of those who threatened it with destruction.

ART. V.—LORD SHERBROOKE.

Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, G.C.B., D.C.L., &c. With a Memoir of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, G.C.B., sometime Governor-General of Canada. By A. PATCHETT MARTIN. In two volumes. With Portraits. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

M R. PATCHETT MARTIN has done well to give to the world such an ample memoir of Lord Sherbrooke, long and familiarly known as Robert Lowe. Independently of his career as a leading statesman during an important period of our national history, his striking personality, his acute intellect, his firm grasp of every subject to which he turned his attention, his brilliant powers of speech, and, above all, his manly struggle against the physical defects and dolours which would have crushed the spirit of most other men, entitle him to a full

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and permanent record. And this Mr. Martin presents in the volumes before us, making judicious use of Lowe's own letters and speeches, and perfecting his portrait by the exquisite touches supplied by surviving friends, including Lord Selborne, Professor Jowett, Mrs. Chaworth Musters, the Hon. Lionel Tollemache, and others.

Robert Lowe's life may be divided into three principal parts, each of great interest, and each perfectly distinct in essence and surroundings. The first part includes his schooling at Winchester, his career at Oxford, his London studies in the law, up to his departure for Australia. The second deals with his eight years in the colonies. The last takes in his active political life in the mother country. Of the first period we have a clear and lifelike account in the *Chapter of Autobiography* which Lord Sherbrooke wrote on his retirement from office in 1876. It is a brief but precious fragment; the concluding portion, type-written by himself, was unfortunately lost in transmission by post, and was never reproduced. The surviving part is intensely interesting, and furnishes the necessary key to a remarkable career.

Robert Lowe was born at Bingham, Nottinghamshire, at the house of his father, the rector of the parish, on December 4, 1811. He was of clerical descent on both sides, his mother being the daughter of the Rev. Reginald Poynder, rector of Madresfield, near Malvern. His father, one of the old school—parson, squire, and foxhunter—was, like his more famous son, an independent thinker and a social reformer. In his own neighbourhood he put into force the main principle of the Poor Law of 1832, years before it became the law of the land. In one important point the Rev. Robert Lowe excelled the non-hunting clergy of the present day—the impressive manner in which he read the Lessons in the village church. The beauty and distinctness of his father's elocution Lord Sherbrooke never forgot. "It may be a minor point," as Mr. Martin remarks, "but the utterly incomprehensible way in which the magnificent language of the Liturgy is too often, nowadays, gabbled through cannot but make us regret the fine reading of an earlier and a more sturdy race of men." His mother was a woman of remarkable grace and beauty, loving and beloved

by all. Of the family group, when in residence at Southwell, of which the father was prebendary, the following picture has been drawn by an eye-witness :

" Long ago we remember, in the old vicarage drawing-room after a dinner-party, examining the face of a tall boy on the verge of manhood, who sat in a corner, with his face towards the wall, in a room which, though lighted up for company, was dim then in comparison with the lights of the present, and saw with wonder that in the almost darkness the object of our curiosity was deeply engaged in a book he was reading. That boy was the present Lord Sherbrooke ; his father was then in residence, and his beautiful dark-eyed mother made it even more strange that two of her children should be albinos. The prebendary himself and all the other members were a remarkably handsome family."

Here we have disclosed to us the great drawback of young Robert Lowe's life. He was an albino, and thereby not only was his personal appearance rendered peculiar—his hair being white, his complexion blanched, his eyes colourless—but his defective sight was a permanent source of trouble to him.

" The peculiarity of my eyes," he writes, " consists in the total absence of colouring matter. This occasions, of course, especially in a man, a very marked peculiarity of complexion, amounting in early youth to something of effeminacy. For this evil, however, I have found age a sovereign cure. But as the absence of colouring matter extends to the eye, it necessarily occasions a great impatience of light. The eyelids must always be nearly closed, and so I never have been able to enjoy the luxury of staring any one full in the face. Of course this intolerance of light must be attended with something very closely approaching to pain. I cannot even conceive the state of a person to whom sight is a function free from all pain and distress; but as I have no standard to measure by, I may perhaps exaggerate my own misfortune. . . . I began life, in fact, very much in the state of persons who have been couched for cataract, with the two additional disqualifications that I had only one eye to rely upon, and that had no *pigmentum nigrum* to protect it."

So hopeless did his visual prospects appear that he was six years old before any attempt was made to teach him his letters, and he was eight before he began " the great business of life—in other words, entered on the study of the Latin grammar." His mother, looking at the case with all a mother's sympathy and fears, was of opinion that he was quite unfit to be sent to school, and that there was no chance for him in

the open arena of life. Yet he gave early proof of an acute intellect and of a law-making talent which augured good capacity for holding his own in the great outside world. When but seven and a half, we find the future Chancellor of the Exchequer and Home Secretary drawing up a "Code of Laws instituted by the Lowes in Defence of their Society"—"laws" which are amusing in their display of childlike innocence and shrewdness. The first and fifth enactments run thus :

"(1) That no one may take a chair when there is another person's clothes on it."

"(5) That when a law is passing and the votes are equal, the ages of both parties be added up, and those that have the most gain and the law is passed."

His father, with stronger sense and a truer estimate of the case, decided that the experiment of a public school training should be tried, and the result proved his wisdom. Lowe himself was never troubled with any misgivings in the matter. Nature, he tells us, had given him, as some compensation for many deficiencies excellent, health, good spirits, an easy temper, and a heart which never failed him in all his trials and difficulties.

After two years at school at Southwell, and one at Risley in Derbyshire, he went as a commoner to Winchester in September 1825. Large public schools are not at any time a desirable platform for a weakly boy, or for one who is conspicuous by peculiarities of appearance. Lowe went bravely through the fierce ordeal of the Winchester of that day, and, though labouring under severe disadvantages, proved himself to be well equipped for the battle of life. Even in our own times great schools are far from being paradises ; but the Winchester of 1825 was rough and barbarous in the extreme. Here is Lowe's account of some of its arrangements :

"The school consisted of 200 boys; 70 collegers and 130 commoners. The collegers were well lodged and fed, had an excellent playground, and the run of the schoolroom when the masters were out of it. In commoners things were very different : the bedrooms were shamefully crowded ; there was a very small court, reference being had to the number of boys who were shut up in it ; there was a hall of very moderate dimensions, considering

that in it we lived, studied, and had our meals ; there was generally a game of cricket going on, and as my cupboard happened to be what is technically called ‘middle on,’ the pursuit of the Muses was attended with some difficulty. I have often said to myself, ‘*I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.*’

“ In these miserable quarters much of the time which we spent out of school was passed. . . . It will be seen from this statement that we fasted from seven o’clock in the evening till half-past ten in the morning ; that four hours and a half were interposed between rising and breakfast ; that we had no food for breakfast but bread ; that we dined three hours after breakfast and immediately after an hour of violent exercise. The result may be easily imagined : we were ravenous at breakfast, and there was nothing but bread to eat unless we had pocket-money to buy food. Out of breath and reeking with perspiration we loathed our dinner, and it was only when in school that we felt hunger which there was no means of appeasing for hours, and then with the (to gentlemen’s children) uncongenial fare of bread and cheese. Our pocket-money, as long as it lasted, went in buying the food with which we ought to have been supplied.”

He tells how he here furnished a mark for the youthful archers to shoot at :

“ We were, it will be observed, never alone by day or by night, so that the power that one boy possesses to annoy another was almost boundless. We were, besides, debarred of our natural liberty, and the high spirits of youth, missing their natural vent, found employment in mutual torment. . . . The ordeal I had to go through was really terrible. For the purposes of relieving the weary hours of enforced society I was invaluable. No one was so dull as to be unable to say something rather smart on my peculiarities, and my short sight offered almost complete immunity to my tormentors. This went on, as well as I can remember, for about a year and a half, and then, as even the most delightful amusements pall by repetition, it died out.”

After four years at Winchester, during the latter part of which he held the proud but perilous pre-eminence of prefect, Lowe went up to reside at University College, Oxford. With all his optical and other disadvantages he had made vast progress in branches of study which proved of the highest advantage to him in the public life for which, unlikely as it seemed, he was bound. Amid much undeserved ill-treatment he had had one true friend at Winchester in the person of his tutor, Mr. Wickham. This gentleman took a kindly interest in the white-headed boy, spurred him on to exertion, did not despise

him for being unlike other people, but heartily rejoiced in his success. How in Robert Lowe's case "the child" was "father of the man," we may gather from Lord Selborne's recollection of him in these schooldays :

" He was remarkable even then for a ready caustic wit, and for a capacity of saying sharp things, which, if they were not always pleasant (I came in for my share of them), left no sting behind. I do not remember any occasion on which we had a serious quarrel. The longer I knew him, the better I learnt to understand the generosity as well as the force of his character."

The change from the rough discipline of Winchester to the academic groves of Oxford was delightful—"a change from perpetual noise and worry to quiet, from imprisonment to freedom, from an odious pre-eminence to a fair and just equality." The first thing that brought him into notice was his macaronic poem on a visit paid by the Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, to the University, in 1833. These burlesque verses took immensely; the odd intermixture of English and Latin tickled the ears of dons and undergraduates alike, and the poem ran through seven editions. Another source of fame was the Union Debating Society. Here Lowe's genius found full play. His remarkable ability in debate soon attracted attention to him in an assemblage which at that time numbered in its brilliant list of members and orators Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, Lord Lincoln, Gaskell, Tait, Roundell Palmer, Cardwell, Trevor, W. G. Ward, Wilberforce, Wordsworth, and Doyle. Amongst these logical and rhetorical athletes Lowe, spite of his semi-blindness, not only held his own, but rose to the highest place in the estimation of his contemporaries. The late Dean Church declared that in his time Ward and Lowe were the *first* speakers at the Union; and that they raised the atmosphere of the proceedings from the mere child's play of a mimic Parliament to that of serious discussion. Lowe, in his opinion, carried off the palm in directly political debate. Sir Francis Doyle, in his *Reminiscences*, gives an amusing account of his meeting with Lowe at the Union. Thursday after Thursday he had watched "affectionately and respectfully" an "old gentleman with show-white hair, who seemed to have become a regular

attendant ; " and Doyle, who was " as blind as a bat," kept saying to himself, " There is that dear old boy again. How nice of him to come and investigate what we are worth ! " He longed to know his name, and the information was soon vouchsafed to him.

" While the Reform debate was going on," says Sir Francis, " some earnest young Tory had denounced Lord Grey and his colleagues as a vile crew of traitors. He had hardly finished when up jumped my patriarch (it was summer time, with the boat races in full force), and in a loud and vigorous tone of voice took him to task thus : ' The hon. gentleman has called Her Majesty's Ministers a " crew." We accept the omen : a crew they are, and with Lord Grey for stroke, Lord Brougham for steerer, and the whole people of England hallooing on the banks, I can tell the hon. gentleman they are pretty sure of winning their race.' "

Then Sir Francis found that he had been " revering as an old man the famous white-haired boy Bob Lowe."

It was in these days that a fierce battle took place between the Union and some of its distinguished sons, who, in disgust at the appointment of a Radical chairman, had formed a new club, the Rambler, but declined to leave the old one. Lowe supported the obnoxious chairman, and proposed the expulsion of the Ramblers from the Union. " We had," he says, " a furious debate, and failed to carry our motion." This contest of the young gods was celebrated in *Uniomachia*, a mock Homeric poem, one of the best specimens extant of humorous Graeco-English composition. It was the joint work of two wits of St. Mary Hall—Thomas (not William, as Mr. Martin has it) Jackson, afterwards prebendary of St. Paul's and rector of Stoke Newington, and Thomas Sinclair, sometime rector of St. George's, Leeds. A copy of this *jeu d'esprit* lies before us, with an inscription in Jackson's neat handwriting. The full title is : *Uniomachia Canino-Anglico-Grace et Latine. Ad Codicum Fidem accuratissime recensuit ; Annotationibus Heavysternii ornavit ; et suas insuper Notulas adjecit, Habbakukius Dunderheadius, Coll. Lug. Bat. olim Soc. etc. etc. Editio Quarta ; auctior et emendatior : et Slawkenbergii Animadversiobibus, nunc primum in lucem prolatis, illustrata.* The Slawkenberg notes were by Scott of Balliol, afterwards Dean of Rochester ; and the English translation " by Jedediah Puzzle-

pate," published separately, was by Archdeacon Giles. In the latter Lowe is thus described :

"In many a sable fold of honour drest,
The great Lowides tow'red above the rest ;
Before the faithful lines advancing far,
With winged words the chief provoked the war."

Lowe did not suffer his oratorical and literary diversions to interfere with a course of hard study. In the spring of 1833 he went up for his degree, and took a first class in classics and a second class in mathematics. This last was a great disappointment to him, for he was sure that he knew enough to entitle him to a first class, but felt conscious that he had not brought his knowledge properly out. And this consciousness is quite in accordance with Canon Melville's statement :

"Robert Lowe only lost his mathematical first class through his very defective sight interfering with the clear record of his work ; his nose, as was said at the time, obliterating much which his hand had written. His classical first was well understood in Oxford to be of a high standard."

His examination in divinity is too remarkable to be omitted.

"It will be remembered," he writes, "that I had made myself rather conspicuous by my speeches in the debating society, and I suppose it is to that I must attribute the very singular examination to which I was subjected by Mr. Lancaster, one of the classical examiners. It was to the following effect :

"Examiner : 'Which gave the better counsel to Rehoboam, the old men or the young ?'

"I : 'The old men. It was quite right to lighten the taxation.'

"Examiner : 'Did not Solomon obtain large revenues by commerce ?'

"I : 'I don't think so. Princes have, as Adam Smith tells us, always been bad traders. We do not know what he exported to Ophir, but he brought back gold and silver, mere articles of luxury, and monkeys and peacocks, not, I apprehend, a very profitable consignment.' (A laugh.)

"Examiner : 'Still, the country is described as being very prosperous under his government, and the revenue is described as being large.'

"I : 'Yes, but then only see how it was squandered : there was the temple, the golden throne, and the sea of gold, and the lions, and the cherubim, and the mercy-seat.'

"Examiner: 'Still, that hardly bears out the opinion of the old men.'

"I: 'No, sir. There was, besides, the support of 300 wives and 700 concubines. We often see a man ruined by one wife; surely a thousand women were enough to ruin a whole country.' (A general roar of laughter.)

"Examiner: 'Thank you, sir. Your examination has been very pleasing.'"

Lowe had now to consider what should be his course in life; and he felt strongly the need of some judicious friend to advise him as to his future. He did not wish to enter the Church; so he determined to go to the Bar. To maintain himself and meet the expenses incident to the entrance into the legal profession, he took private pupils, and was very successful as a tutor. It was a trying ordeal—this constant and conscientious coaching. One of his pupils, Dr. Richard Congreve, records that, as he closed his last lecture, he said: "There, that is the last lecture I shall give in this place, where I have been selling my life-blood at 7s. 6d. the hour." "I do not think," he writes, "I could have gone on with it much longer." Meantime, in March 1836, he had the good fortune to marry Miss Georgiana Orred, a lady who for nearly fifty years was "the faithful companion of his chequered destiny, and to whose zeal, industry, and energy" he owed "in no small degree such success as" he obtained.

While at Oxford he distinguished himself not only as a clear thinker, a close reasoner, and a powerful debater, but as an acute and discerning critic upon the vagaries of the newly born Tractarian party. *Tract 90* made its appearance in February 1841, and effectually aroused him to the mischievous tendency of a propaganda which hitherto he had been inclined to ignore, as being too absurd and weak to merit serious attention. He could not bear the Jesuitical doctrine of Newman's famous Tract, and felt constrained to issue a rejoinder in a pamphlet entitled *The Articles Construed by Themselves*, an able and convincing piece of reasoning. This brought W. G. Ward again into the fray in further defence of *Tract 90*. But this impetuous skirmisher only damaged Newman's cause by openly declaring that the proper thing to do was to subscribe the Articles in a "non-natural

sense," a method of dealing with them which Lowe had pointed out as the real purport of the teaching of *Tract 90*. To Ward he replied in some trenchant *Observations*. Although both these pamphlets have been lost sight of, or ignored, in recent histories of the Tractarian movement, there can be little doubt that their manly outspokenness and clear reasoning stayed many souls from listening to the sophistry of Newman, who, to quote Lowe's motto from Sir Walter Scott :

" By spells of glamour bright
Could make a lady seem a knight,
The cobwebs on a dungeon wall
Seem tapestry in lordly hall,
And youth seem age, and age seem youth—
All was delusion, nought was truth."

All this while he had been a persistent reader, and now, in the brief intervals of his toils as tutor, he relaxed his mind by the study of Sanskrit under Professor Wilson. But this delightful pursuit had to be given up just when he had conquered its main difficulties. In 1838 his eyes gave him distinct notice that he must relinquish all reading by candle-light—a dreadful blow to one who had therein found his greatest pleasure. In 1840 his residence of eleven years at Oxford, and his seven years' labour as a private tutor, came to an end, and he took his plunge into the great world with a courage and spirit which one cannot but admire, considering the physical disadvantages under which he laboured. He sold his house at Oxford, came up to London, and put himself under the legal tuition of Mr. Coulson and Sir Barnes Peacock, having already prepared himself a little by twice reading over Cruise's *Digest*. In 1842 he was called to the Bar, and, being reasonably anxious to know whether he should be able to do the business which might come to him in course of time, he took the best advice he could get about his eyes, consulting Lawrence, Travers, and Alexander. The result was not encouraging. These experts told him that he would become blind in seven years, recommended outdoor employment, and spoke of Australia and New Zealand as suitable places for the purpose. The diagnosis was not correct,

and the advice was absurd. All the same, it was a bitter revelation to Lowe.

"To be told," he says, "at eight-and-twenty that I had only seven years more of sight, and to think of the long night that lay beyond it, was bad enough; but the reflection that the object which I had struggled through a thousand difficulties with such intense labour to attain was lost to me, was almost as bitter."

But his wife and he were not the people to sit down and lament over what seemed the inevitable. The English Bar, under the circumstances, was out of the question. To become a settler in Australia he was fitted with neither capital, knowledge, nor sight. But the Bar at Sydney was said to be very lucrative, and in a new country he was "sure of having a speedy trial, and making something before the fatal seven years expired." So, within six months after he had been called to the Bar, he set sail for New South Wales—only a few weeks before a letter was posted to him from the *Times*, inviting him to be a contributor to its columns; an invitation which, had it come in time, would have stayed his departure, and altered his whole career. After a four months' voyage the adventurous couple arrived in Sydney and were kindly received. Lowe was not long in obtaining a fair amount of business on a comfortable scale of remuneration. But now a new misfortune befell him. The prophecies of the three London authorities, utterly false as they ultimately proved to have been, had made him very nervous about his eyes: the glare of a Sydney summer caused him some suffering, and in an evil hour he consulted a doctor, who cupped him and advised him to discontinue his practice:

"The time has come, I said to myself, sooner than I thought, and if I do not wish to be wholly blind I must give up my business. This was the lowest ebb of my fortunes; it really seemed as if I was destined to sink into a situation in which I should look back with regret on the position which it had cost me so much trouble to quit. To make the thing complete, I was forbidden to read, so that all that remained to me was to forget what I had learnt, enlivened by the joyless dignity to starve."

In this trouble he found some alleviation in the devoted friendship and charming companionship of Mr. William Sharpe

Macleay, and in the opportunity which his compulsory idleness afforded him and his wife to make themselves acquainted with the beautiful scenery of the colony, especially in the Illawarra district.

At this point in his history he breaks off his narrative to show the disadvantages under which his defective vision placed him, and to make a pathetic appeal against public misjudgment. It is an appeal which every unprejudiced reader will allow to be just, and which at the same time tells how deeply Lowe felt the ungenerous treatment he received in several quarters :

" So long as it was only a business of teaching pupils, I did not feel it ; they wanted to learn, and were quite ready to take anything I told them, either for truth or for what would be as good as truth for their purpose. But it was a very different thing when I came to deal with an auditor who was either hostile or indifferent. I could not see the face of the witness whom I was examining, I could not see the faces of the jury whom I was addressing, and, worst of all, I could not see the impression I was making on the House of Commons, and have often for want of this faculty fallen into mistakes which I could gladly and easily have avoided. Those impressions which we receive imperfectly we remember badly. I have never been able to recognise the faces of persons whom I do not see frequently, and the consequence is that I spend a great deal of my time in fencing with persons whom I do not know, but who know me very well. This has deprived me of numberless friendships and intimacies which I should have been glad to cultivate, and the loss of which I sincerely lament.

" But the worst of all was when I came to hold really high and important office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He who has to refuse many things to many men has need to exert some counteracting power to neutralise the offence which, if he does his duty, he is pretty sure to give. . . . ' Why did not you employ whatever conversational power you possessed in making yourself popular ? ' The answer is given in what I said before. I could not conciliate my victims or my antagonists, because I could not find them. Thus, with a quiet temper and a real wish to please, I have been obliged to submit all my life to an amount of unpopularity which I really did not deserve, and to feel myself condemned for what, after all allowance has been made for numerous faults and follies, were really rather physical than moral deficiencies. The fact also that I had contrived to raise myself to so prominent a position prevented people from making allowance for physical deficiencies which, if better known, would doubtless have been more generally allowed for."

At his life in New South Wales, from 1842 to 1850, we

can but briefly glance. After eight months of enforced idleness he desired to ignore the too cautious advice of his doctors in Sydney, and to resume, with proper precautions, the practice of his profession. Notwithstanding the financial crisis through which the colony was then passing—very similar to one of more recent days—he soon got business sufficient to yield a moderate income, and his great ability began to meet with due appreciation in his new sphere. The Governor, Sir George Gipps, chose him to be a member of the Legislative Council, which, under the Constitution bestowed on New South Wales in 1842 by Lord Stanley, consisted of thirty-six members, of whom twenty-four were elected by the people, six were salaried officials, and six Crown nominees. In his legislative capacity Lowe quickly made his mark. He was a Crown nominee, but the Governor soon found that he had made a great mistake if he expected him to support his policy through thick and thin. Here, as throughout life, Lowe proved himself an independent thinker. The force and brilliancy of his speeches gained him a foremost place in public estimation; and his inability to agree with the policy of Sir George Gipps led him within a year to give up the position of "Crown nominee," for which he of all men was least adapted, and which in after years he thus tersely described :

"If I voted with the Government, I was in danger of being reproached as a mere tool; and if I voted with the Opposition, as I did on most questions, I was reproached by the officials as a traitor to the Government. In fact, I was in this position—if I voted with the Government, I was taunted with being a slave; and if I voted against them, I was taunted with being a traitor."

But when he resigned his place in the Council he did not give up political life altogether. On the contrary, he became the energetic leader in the important changes attendant on the rapid growth of a vigorous colony. He played a dominant part in bringing about—

"(1) the system of self-government which now obtains throughout Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand; (2) the cessation of criminal transportation to New South Wales; (3) the creation of the colony of Victoria; (4) the establishment of the prevailing system of national unsectarian education; (5) the settlement of the people on the public lands, and the growth of a genuine yeoman class."

With his customary thoroughness he had made himself complete master of the land question, and joined the Pastoral Association of New South Wales. But when he had resigned his seat on the Council his exceptional knowledge was of small avail without some means of communicating it to the public and influencing the people in favour of his views. He therefore combined with other gentlemen in founding the *Atlas*, "a Sydney Weekly Journal of Politics, Commerce, and Literature." Though he was now a busy barrister in good practice, he found time to contribute columns of caustic prose and pungent verse on all public questions to the pages of the new journal. The virtue of his poetry lay in its point—its aptitude to the political events of the day that is past and forgotten; but *The Squatter to his Bride* merits preservation for its grim humour and for its close fidelity to the scenes and circumstances of fifty years back in the bush:

"Four hundred miles off is the goal of our way;
 It is done in a week, at but sixty a day;
 The plains are all dusty, the creeks are all dried,
 'Tis the fairest of weather to bring home my bride.
 The blue vault of heaven shall curtain thy form,
 One side of a gum-tree the moonbeam must warm;
 The whizzing mosquito must dance o'er thy head,
 And the guana shall squat at the foot of thy bed;
 The brave laughing jackass shall sing thee to sleep,
 And the snake o'er thy slumbers his vigil shall keep.

* * * * *

So fear not, fair lady, your desolate way,
 Your clothes will arrive in three months with my dray."

After about seven months of journalistic work Lowe returned to his former arena in the Council, having been elected as the popular representative for the St. Vincent and Auckland district. Then, unfettered by official restraints, he was able to give full play to the incisive eloquence which was afterwards to command the attention of a more distinguished audience.

In 1844 he was counsel for the accused in a case which created great sensation in the colony. John Knatchbull, a ticket-of-leave man, of good family, had barbarously murdered Ellen Jamieson in her own shop in Sydney. His guilt was

indisputable; but the trial is remarkable chiefly from the line of defence taken by Mr. Lowe, who propounded the theory that the criminal was led step by step into the lowest depths of degradation, "urged on by some irresistible demon of insanity." Though unsuccessful in gaining an acquittal for the wretched prisoner, his brilliant appeal excited much attention in the press, and was strongly objected to, as supporting a form of fatalism which would tend to let off the criminal and defeat the ends of justice. The *Sydney Morning Herald* declared it to be "opposed to the first principles of Christianity." Rightly or wrongly, Lowe regarded the *Herald* as a "Wesleyan" paper, and, with his customary polemical activity, he wrote to the editors a short note, to draw them out to the combat, asking them to oblige him by pointing out what doctrines his speech contained "opposed to the first principles of Christianity." Without delay they took up the challenge, and informed him that his argument was opposed to the principle of man's free agency, which they considered to be the first principle of the Christian religion. In reply to "this fresh attack," as Mr. Martin inappropriately terms it, the acute barrister made a highly characteristic reply, but it can hardly be described as "a masterpiece of polemical discussion." He opens fire with the assertion that he "expected to be referred to something held by Christians in common, and not to the doctrine of the Wesleyan Sect," and points his critics to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and seventeenth Articles of the Church of England, in order that they may see clearly that though *they* may "consider the foundation of the whole system of Divine Government to be man's free agency and consequent responsibility," the Church of England, whose Articles he had repeatedly subscribed, does not. Viewed from a distance of years, the controversy has an amusing aspect; yet one cannot but feel satisfaction that the leading paper of the far South stoutly upheld the grand doctrine of man's free will and free agency against the fatalism of so accomplished a disputant.

But, however sharp his tongue and pointed his pen, Lowe's heart was healthily tender and soft. In this very case he and his excellent wife took charge of the two children of the murdered woman, and, to their own great inconvenience and anxiety,

brought them up carefully in their own home. This was but one of many kind acts performed by him in a quiet, unpretentious way ; so that we do not wonder that Sir John Simon, who knew him intimately for many years, pronounced him to be "not only the clearest-headed man I ever knew, but the best-hearted."

As early as 1846, in the midst of his success at the Bar, Lowe had begun to entertain the idea of a return to England, chiefly on account of his wife's failing health. But she resolutely wrote home : "He never shall destroy his prospects for me. He has struggled hard, and, considering his sight, the result surprises even me." He did not finally yield to the magnetism of the old country till 1850. In the interval he had reached high honour, had achieved great legal and political success, and had helped to infuse into the rising colony a nobler tone, a less parochial spirit, than it had previously displayed. Settling down in London once more, he signalled his return to the seat of imperial power by a masterly speech before the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government. He was promptly elected [into the Reform Club, and in the following year he went on the staff of the *Times*. In 1852 he was returned to Parliament as member for Kidderminster, and so commenced the active part of his political life in England.

John Delane, who for thirty years conducted the affairs of the *Times* with admirable spirit and success, did the leading paper essential service when he secured the help of the Australian barrister as a regular contributor. For seventeen years the *Times* was enriched by articles from his powerful pen. During the early part of that period especially his services to it were constant and indefatigable. His admirable wife was his able and willing amanuensis. When important intelligence arrived at midnight from any part of the world, Delane would despatch a special messenger to Lowndes Square, and Mrs. Lowe, springing out of bed, would write to her husband's dictation rapidly filled slips, to be borne away in hot haste to the office. But the articles themselves bore no marks of hurry, and were generally choice examples of sound common sense and clear expression. Even what might be regarded as a drawback to his perfections, the occasional

over-sharpness of his criticisms, the piercing acidity of his satire, served to add to his articles a piquancy which is ever welcome to the great body of readers. We find a fair example of the shrewdness and humour which were habitual to him in the following sentences of mild warning addressed to the founders of the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand :

" If money is to be made at Canterbury, a mixed multitude of men of the most heterogeneous beliefs will infallibly rush in and elbow their orthodox predecessors from their stools. Nor do we see how this deluge of heresy and miscreancy is to be dammed out unless the Custom-house officers are doctors of divinity, and the theological tenets of every new arrival be submitted to the same inquisitorial scrutiny as his sea-chest and his portmanteau."

When he took his seat in the Commons, Lowe soon distinguished himself, and convinced the new House that it had in its midst at least one new member of great promise. His powers of thought and of utterance seemed equal to every topic of public importance, but he never spoke on any subject which he had not thoroughly mastered. When Lord Derby's administration came to an end, and Lord Aberdeen accepted office as head of the celebrated Coalition Ministry, Lowe was made joint secretary of the old Board of Control of India—an arrangement almost as startling as the appointment of Lord Palmerston to the Home Office, and of Lord John Russell to the Foreign. But he proved his great capacity for intelligent statesmanship and hard work, and was the chief parliamentary exponent and defender of Sir Charles Wood's Government of India Bill, which seriously abridged the privileges of the East India Company, and led the way to the abolition of the India House, and to the direct government of India by the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. When a vote of censure on the Aberdeen mode of conducting the war brought the Ministry to an end, he gave Lord Palmerston his loyal support, believing the war to be just and right, whatever mistakes had been made in conducting it.

In August 1855 he again took office—this time as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and in this capacity he carried safely through the House the Joint Stock Companies Acts of 1856 and 1857, in which he gained legislative

validity for the principle of limited liability. In the autumn of the next year he enjoyed the relaxation of a trip to America, of which some interesting reminiscences have been furnished by his companion, Sir Douglas Galton. Lowe already held opinions adverse to the creation of a sweeping democracy, thinking that the government of a country should not be committed to the hands of the ignorant and the unfit—a view which had been strengthened by his Australian experiences and was now confirmed by observations in the United States. A deplorable incident at the general election of 1857 would not be likely to shake this belief. The Government had been beaten on the question of the Chinese war, a dissolution took place, and Lowe went down to Kidderminster to seek re-election. He was a strong supporter of Lord Palmerston, and on this and other points his constituents entirely agreed with him. But from the first he had set his face against the bribery and corruption which had long rendered the borough notorious; and the mob resented what they considered as an excess of purity. "Lowe," as Canon Melville epigrammatises it, "appealed to rectitude and reason; the mob desired the bribe and the beer-barrel." When the poll was declared and he was found to be elected by a large majority, the fury of the mob burst forth, and he and his friends were savagely assaulted by three or four thousand roughs. The road from the booth to the town lay between raised banks, from which the mob pitilessly pelted them with bricks and stones, the women being especially spiteful.

"They ran the gauntlet for some 250 yards, losing one of their number at every stride; those who fell were savagely kicked, and several of the policemen were disabled in rescuing them. Although Mr. Lowe was bleeding, his white hair dabbled in blood, they kept pelting him with cowardly ferocity and the most horrible imprecations. . . . Lowe was not able to be removed from Kidderminster for some days; the local surgeon discovered that he had sustained a fracture of the right parietal bone of the skull, in addition to a lacerated scalp wound and two severe contusions on the side of the head; and he was for the time quite prostrated by the loss of blood."

He laboured diligently at the Board of Trade for three years, till Lord Palmerston was thrown out of office in 1858.

In April of the next year he retired from the representation of Kidderminster, and was soon after returned as member for Calne. On Palmerston's return to office, Lowe was made Vice-President of the Council of Education, an office which included the presidency of the Board of Health. He thus became practically the first Minister of Public Health in this country, and he fulfilled the duties of this important office with an enlightened devotion characteristic of the man. As to his excellent work in this capacity we have the testimony of Sir John Simon, K.C.B., who has supplied Mr. Martin with a highly appreciative account of the labours and successes of his former chief in the department of Public Health.

At the same time Mr. Lowe had to conduct the business of a still more important and anxious department, that of Education. And here his uncompromising innovations and reforms led him into much unpopularity. Mr. Martin says :

"Probably no Minister ever worked harder than Robert Lowe over this educational problem. After six months' labour and thought he produced a scheme, the foundation of what is called the 'Revised Code,' and the system of 'payment by results.' He stated to Parliament that there was no desire to interfere with the religious basis and the denominational character of the educational system ; but inasmuch as he was responsible for the distribution of vast public subsidies on behalf of these denominational schools, he had decided that the capitation grant should be based on 'results.' As it was a matter of public *elementary* education he instituted the famous test of the three R's. This historic notification has led to much elevated newspaper criticism, which repeats itself even to the present hour. Such able persons as Mr. Joseph Cowen, of Newcastle, and the editor of the *St. James's Gazette* have recently referred to the narrowing and materialistic tendency of Lord Sherbrooke's educational policy. They seem altogether to forget that he in no sense promulgated an educational policy at all, but simply devised a system whereby grants of public money would be distributed to the *elementary* schools of the kingdom on a just and equitable basis."

The opposition to the new system, in a few years, culminated in a vote of censure on the Education Department, for its "mutilation of the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools," &c., which was carried by a small majority in the Commons. Lowe immediately resigned, and demanded a committee of inquiry. Its decision exonerated him and the

department from all blame, and the House rescinded its former vote. Once more liberated from office, he devoted his clear intelligence and cultivated powers to the consideration and discussion of the pressing problems of the political world. Chief among these was the desirability or otherwise of a new measure of Reform, which should throw the franchise open to a much wider class of voters. Mr. Lowe was conscientiously opposed both to Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1866 and to Mr. Disraeli's successful one of the following year. We cannot in these pages enter into a discussion of matters so closely connected with the party politics of to-day. We must refer the reader to Mr. Martin's clear and comprehensive account of his hero's "battle with democracy," and leave him to decide for himself whether Mr. Lowe's forebodings have since been realised or not. His speeches on the grand field days of legislative contest, when he and Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord Elcho, and other distinguished Liberals formed the "Cave," were worthy of the best traditions of the House of Commons, and even now show none of the deadness of the "ancient history" which is the bugbear of the present hour. When the campaign was over, Lowe loyally acquiesced in the decision of the majority, and was more desirous than ever to educate "our future masters."

Whether he was right or wrong in his views, it is certain that in this famous fight he was unswayed by the personal interests and party attachments and animosities which have governed and misled too many of our statesmen. *Punch* sang at the time (June 13, 1867) :

"In these days of crossings and dodgings,
When one never knows who's on the square;
When folks change their sides like their lodgings,
And there's all kinds of fighting but fair,

"'Tis a comfort to have honest gripping,
Hits straight from the shoulder that go;
No squaring the fight or down-slipping:
'Win or lose, let's fight fair,' says Bob Lowe.

* * * * *

"And if 'Varsity graduates of London
Are looking about them to find
How to get all their brain-work and fun done
By a tongue that can utter their mind,

"They may look a long time ere they hit
On one who such muscle can show,
One for truth's sturdy champion so fit,
As much-abused, honest Bob Lowe."

At the general election of 1868 the advice of *Punch* was taken, and Mr. Lowe was elected member for London University. To the credit both of that learned constituency and of its first representative, he continued to be the member for what he thought "simply the best seat in England" till he was elevated to the House of Lords. But a greater honour than this awaited him. He had at times felt keenly the comparative neglect of successive Governments. Statesman, administrator, orator of the first rank, at the close of his fifty-seventh year he had never as yet attained to the rank of a Cabinet Minister. But in December 1868, Mr. Gladstone offered him the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in his first administration, and he accepted it. His note to his elder brother on the occasion is a model of brevity and straightforwardness :

"DEAR HENRY,—I am Chancellor of the Exchequer with everything to learn.
"Yours affectionately,
"ROBERT LOWE."

But whatever disqualifications he felt for the office—and his defective eyesight was a real and trying one—he set himself from the first to work his hardest and to serve his country to the best of his ability. His four Budgets proved, on the whole, very successful ; but, with the common fate of mundane affairs, his strenuous and intelligent labour and his great financial talent are forgotten, buried in the dust kicked up about one slight blunder—the proposed tax on matches ; a proposal which had already been withdrawn when the famous procession of matchmakers sealed its fate. Lowe's own lines amusingly summarise his doings in this exalted position :

"Four Years' Work of a Chancellor of the Exchequer.
"Twelve millions of Taxes I struck off,
Left behind me six millions of gains ;
Of Debt forty millions I shook off,
And got well abused for my pains."

In a recast of the Cabinet he was allotted the important

office of Home Secretary, which he had held only five months when Mr. Gladstone's Ministry came to an end. This closed Lowe's official life, and released him from its many cares. Four years in the pilloried post of Chancellor, working out and defending a financial policy—four years of discontented deputations, varied by wranglings with "the cantankerous Mr. Ayrton," and nightly attendance on dreary debates, while he was racked with domestic anxiety—had told heavily on his sound and healthy constitution. Now he was free to brighten with his presence the tedious hours of his suffering wife, and a host of friends rejoiced in the renewal of his valued society. Gifted with the brightest conversational powers, he let his wit and humour flow freely in every company, not waiting for a grand or select audience. No Boswell was at hand to store up the golden sayings poured out in such affluence; but a few of his smart sallies have been preserved by his friends. Mr. Goldwin Smith has furnished "the correct version of a famous story which, as generally related, exhibits Lord Sherbrooke's wit at the expense of his good feeling."

"Mr. and Mrs. Lowe and I," he writes, "were staying with Lord Cardwell—Mr. Cardwell as he then was—in the Chief Secretary's Lodge at Dublin. The English marriage service was the subject of conversation. Lowe said in his dashing way that it was full of nonsense. 'Why,' he exclaimed, turning to his wife, 'it made me say to you, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," when I had no worldly goods wherewith to endow you.' 'Ah, Robert,' she replied, 'but there were your brains!' 'Well,' he said, 'all the world knows that I did not endow you with them.'

"The current version of the anecdote is such as to imply that Lowe spoke contemptuously of his wife. Nothing of the kind; it was a mere joke, at which she laughed as heartily as the rest of us."

His ready wit and quick detection of weak points in argument had stood him in good stead in his official interviews with innumerable deputations. At the same time it met with scant appreciation from dull men, who, doubtless, felt hurt at being trotted out, *more Socratically*, to confute, all unconsciously, their own fads and fallacies.

The debates in the Commons continued to be enlivened by his occasional speeches in the period ranging from 1874 to 1880. He also contributed articles, chiefly on political

subjects, to the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, &c. sometimes in friendly controversy with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain. The former statesman paid more than one fine tribute to the high character and rare disinterestedness of his old friend and co-worker, and spoke of his intellect "as Mr. Lowe's penetrating, almost piercing, power of mind." When he returned to power in 1880, Mr. Gladstone offered a peerage to Mr. Lowe, which the latter reluctantly accepted. "Personally," his biographer tells us, "he would have preferred to remain in the House of Commons, and his acceptance of the peerage was much more to convenience Mr. Gladstone than to gratify himself." When ascending to the Upper House with the title of Viscount Sherbrooke, he wrote to his brother :

"For myself, I feel very much as if I had got again into the company of the four neuter verbs of the Latin Grammar—*Vapulo*, I am beaten; *Veno*, I am sold; *Exulo*, I am banished; *Fio*, I am done."

In the Lords he made but one or two speeches; and in 1884, after the death of his first wife, his public career may be considered to have closed. His old schoolfellow and intimate friend, Lord Selborne, sums up his character and services to the State in these words : "What he did in Parliament and in office is matter of public history. For me, it is sufficient to bear to it this testimony, that in acuteness and uprightness he has not been exceeded by any of his contemporaries."

In 1885 he married again, to his own great comfort and happiness in his few remaining years. In 1892 a great change became apparent in his health, and on July 27 he passed away at his pleasant seat in Surrey, "watched with a solicitude that never wearied, and with every alleviation that the tenderest love could devise."

Lord Sherbrooke's life presents a noble example of a brave spirit surmounting with cheerful courage the exceptional difficulties which nature had placed in its way. The exterior dimness and darkness seemed but to brighten and bring to perfection the inner faculties of the soul. For his physical deficiencies Robert Lowe had the large counterbalancing boon of sound health, high spirits, a brilliant imagination, a ready wit, a marvellous memory, and a not easily blinded

judgment. His career is at once a lesson and an encouragement. Mr. Patchett Martin has presented him, in these attractive volumes, as he was in actual life, public and private, and has swept away the flimsy cobwebs with which petty souls have sought to overhang his genial qualities. This *Life* gives abundant and indisputable proof that, while his intellect was of the rarest quality, disciplined and adorned with ripe scholarship, his heart was of the kindest and truest. His memory will live in this excellent and most interesting biography, as well as in the public annals of the country he served long and faithfully.

ART. VI.—A LIFE IN THE SWISS HIGHLANDS.

1. *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS and his Daughter MARGARET. London and Edinburgh : Adam and Charles Black. 1892.
2. *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti.* Based on Studies in the Archives of the Buonarroti Family at Florence. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. Two vols. London : John C. Nimmo. 1893.

THAT brilliant writer and accomplished Italian scholar, John Addington Symonds, who so steadfastly toiled at his chosen craft during long years of frail and failing health, has passed from us at last, and a touching interest now attaches to the collected sketches of his *Life in the Swiss Highlands*, published last year : they give a singularly vivid and picturesque description of the favourable Alpine surroundings which enabled an invalid of strong consumptive tendencies to live and enjoy life and accomplish an amazing amount of valuable literary work ; they reveal also what was the sad and serious tone of thought that underlay all the enthusiasm for beauty proper to this nature lover whose poet-mind was saturated with the art and literature of the Renaissance.

"Twelve years ago," wrote Mr. Symonds in 1889, "I came to Davos, broken down in health, and with a poor prospect of being able to prolong my days upon this earth." The broad, open valley niched among the hills of the Grisons, 5,400 feet above the sea-level, and snow-bound seven months of the year, proved so kindly a nurse, the Alpine sun, air, and cold, had such healing power for wounded lungs, that the sufferer, weary of many years of pilgrimaging in search of health, resolved to wander no more; and those Alpine heights became the home of his remaining years. Some twenty-three or four volumes of rarely graceful prose and verse, of original work high in merit, of masterly translations, and many contributions to the best periodicals, were the rich harvest of that long term of seclusion. Such a list of achievements is proof enough that the writer did not err in regarding the dry, pure, cold air of the Alps as a "marvellous brain-tonic." The eloquent but accurate and discreet account of the merits of Davos-Platz which Mr. Symonds sent to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1878, and which largely helped to make the fortune of the health-resort, does not testify more plainly to the healing virtues of the "Alp-cure" and to the charms and splendours of the winter-world amid which it is to be sought.

We may not now dwell on any of our author's grander works, save one only; his four volumes on the *Italian Renaissance*, his critical and biographical studies of *English Literature*, his helpful *Introduction to the Study of Dante*, with so many other works dear to the lovers of fine criticism, recondite lore, and subtle thought, must pass unnoticed; but we must refer to the admirable and exhaustive *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, the fruit practically of thirty years spent in consideration of the mighty master's work and character; we find it absorbing Mr. Symonds during the summer of 1891; and it is not unworthy of its place as its author's last gift to his countrymen, as the last surprising product of those strenuous years at Davos-Platz.

For this is a work of masterly grandeur, arduous research, penetrating criticism, profuse in details of the artist's life, gathered from hitherto unexplored sources, rich in splendid exposition of his methods as painter, sculptor, architect, poet. Inevitably there is a panoramic vastness in the great picture on

which we are invited to gaze; its background formed by the Florence of the Medici, the Rome of Julius II., of Clement VII., of Paul III.; and we have to admire the skill with which the grand central figure is kept distinct amid the thronging shapes of his more or less famous friends, rivals, patrons, the truth and reverence with which it is presented in its rugged majesty, its strength and weakness. This is accomplished by resolute exclusion of all matter that has no immediate bearing on the personality or the achievements of Michelangelo, by inclusion of every particular that can illuminate them. A hundred little homely touches, gleaned from the master's correspondence with friends and relatives, modify the traditional conceptions of his character; there is less of the Titanic, more of the human in it; the strong but jealous family affection, the impassioned friendships, the cordial aversions and outbursts of stormy temper, the occasional nervous fears, the impulsive mistakes, are set before us with a new and a tender truthfulness; and noteworthy are the passages devoted to the assertion of the austere and unusual purity of that long life passed in a half-heathen society in which the most splendid gifts of mind, the highest cultivation, were too often found in unison with incredible foulness of morals. The devout and loyal friend of Vittoria Colonna, the earnest student, admirer, emulator, of Dante; the believer who in youth had come under the spell of Savonarola, who in old age expressed himself in sublime devotional poetry, is shown to us no less superior to the mass of his contemporaries in self-reverence and self-mastery than in genius and in grasp of thought, the stormy wrath into which he was sometimes betrayed notwithstanding; for those outbursts are held excusable in the kinsman whose dependant family proved thankless, grasping, stupid, not seldom; in the patriot whose faithful service to his Florence was made void by treachery; in the artist struggling painfully through long years to fulfil his own ideals against all manner of base or hateful hindrances, foiled by the intrigues of enemies, the caprice of this Papal patron and that, and leaving behind him a long record of great enterprises marred and mighty hopes defeated. The sculptor of the tomb of Julius II. compelled, to work now on the façade

of San Lorenzo, now on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, now on the reconstruction of St. Peter's, and in every new undertaking hindered and thwarted, is a tragical figure indeed, and tragic passion is allowed to him as his right by his sympathetic biographer.

But the dominant and special feature of this new biography of Buonarroti is the elaborate and careful aesthetic and psychological analysis of the master's character as expressed in his work, of his work as determined by his character, by his temperament, by his mental and constitutional idiosyncrasies. It is a strange and of necessity a not wholly agreeable impression that results from all those glowing descriptive and those subtly philosophic passages that, aided by admirable reproductions of sculptures, designs, paintings, architectural plans, acquaint us with the excellences, the defects, the mysterious attraction and repulsion of Michelangelo's astonishing creations, and unfold the determining causes of their peculiarities. But the exposition is masterly indeed, the insight true and deep; there is a fine impartiality, rare in biographers, reminding us that our author is first and last a critic; and if something in the art described "fascinates and is intolerable"—like the statue of the Duke Lorenzo—the grandeur of the soul that strove to express itself in the grandeur of superhuman shapes that appal the commonplace observer has fullest justice done to it. Nothing can be nobler or more eloquent than the closing tribute to the "Hero as Artist."

It is not for us to deal adequately now with a vast work that incidentally exhibits a momentous transitional period of Italian history, social, religious, political, artistic. What we would slightly emphasise is the strong charm with which his great theme has held Mr. Symonds, the influence on his fancy if not his thought of long familiarity with a spirit sombre and splendid as Buonarroti's, the curious likeness and unlikeness between master and disciple in the passion for beauty and the sense of awe—the one delighting chiefly in the human form divine, the other sensitive to the charm of the whole visible universe, but aware of a something terrible in it, and in man's mysterious position in it, which for the artist existed more in the thoughts of a life to come, in the consciousness of sin, in

the relations between man and his Maker. It is the difference, in some degree at least, between the mediæval and the modern habit of thought.

Heart and soul possessed by his subject, we see our writer looking on at the grand spectacle of the Swiss "Olympic Games" at Geneva, and seeking in the army of gymnasts there assembled the characteristic type of masculine symmetry and strength which stands for seal and signature of Buonarroti's sense of beauty, and yields the key-note of his temperament; he found this singular and beautiful type in a youth from the Jura, and assured himself that the Master had shown the subtlest skill in "*enforcing the rhythm of that beauty*" for decorative work; gazing on the straining wrestlers and the recumbent athletes, he saw the most complicated attitudes, the boldest violences of Michelangelo's groups reproduced, and became certain that the mighty artist's eye and memory had been swift and retentive as the lens and film of a detective camera in arresting and recording passing phases of bodily action. Yet it was to escape from the "tyrannous preoccupation of the subject" that our author had come down from Davos, with a trainful of joyous comrades eager to take part in those noble, friendly, patriotic contests, the *Federal Athletic Sports* of Switzerland. He might not so escape; the shade of the great Florentine clung to him in the "luminous, sweet landscape" around Geneva, and haunted the amethystine hills that overhung the azure of Lake Leman, and hovered in the vast Festival Hall over the thousands of shapes embodying young triumphant manhood that were now flooded with golden sunlight, and now illuminated with the keen bluish glare of the electric light. A finer example of intense, impassioned, involuntary absorption in a long-meditated theme could not easily be found, and it reveals in part the secret of that insight, keenly and finely critical in matters both moral and æsthetic, that delights us in the *Life* of Buonarroti.

But a note not often found in the music of Michelangelo—a note of musing melancholy touched with compassion—is struck when we are bidden to look at the final stately show of those masses of gymnasts going through their last exercises together—wonderful in plastic beauty, in melodious movement

of grand figures swaying rhythmically to the sound of music ; the display lasts but half an hour, and then the whole elastic multitude disperses—to meet again in unbroken array, who can say when ?

" A shadowy vision of the life of men swept through my mind obscuring thought. Creatures of a day ; what is a man, and what is a man not ?

" The mysteries of the universe and the eternities are imprisoned in a single man ; and here were men by thousands rejoicing in their health and their strength. Yet man is but a dream about a shadow—a flower that perisheth, a blade of grass that falls beneath the scythe. And all these thousands, with their souls mysterious, their bodies beautiful and vigorous, must pass away. After but half a century how few of them, decrepit greybeards, will be crawling on the earth they now so lightly spurned with heels ' like those of feathered Hermes ' ! "

Heartfelt pathos, nobly expressed ; not wholly alien to the sombre mood of him who " used the thought of death as the mystagogue of his spirit into the temple of eternal things," but more impersonal at once and less hopeful than those devout musings in which the aged artist aspired to the joys of heaven and prayed to be taught to " hate the world " and the lovely things dear to him in it ; untouched by such prophetic wrath against human wrongdoing, as breathes in the great sculptor's quatrain on his marble *Night*, so fortunate in being blind and deaf to the prevalent " ruin and dishonour " that on no account must you speak loud, lest you wake her. Our modern thinker is tolerant, too much penetrated by pity for his fellows to be very wrathful with them. But let us now turn to such glimpses of his inner self as are afforded us by the charming records of his life in Davos.

Exquisite in his delight in the wild and wonderful colour-charm of the Alpine skies and snows, of day and night, summer and winter, in those altitudes, he paints them for us with a full brush and a loving hand ; and we see, as he saw, the iridescent clouds that array all the winter heaven in fine fretwork of mother-of-pearl, or rosy after-glow of sunset robing peak and snowfield in every hue of saffron and crimson, while the full moon hangs aloft, a huge transpicuous dew pearl of

intensest green ; or ghostly glorious frozen cataracts and huge ice-columns gleaming spectral out of the grey morning twilight ; or rivers in full volume of clear azure waters carving a monumental way through cliffs of pure white marble—swimming through grassy meadows—falling thundering in cataracts arched with changeful rainbows. So flows the Averser Rhein through its valley ; such sights may you see in the Via Mala or on the way from Davos to Klosters. In the high-walled Davos valley itself we are shown hillsides burning with richest hues when the shrubs and herbs put on their brief glory of decay, or blossoming into masses of gold, silver, and blue, and rosy flowers when spring succeeds the seven months' winter ; and at sunset the western sky all afame with rosy wondrous light, the eastern arrayed in vivid golden green, above the black mountain barriers that hide the sinking sun. No lovely aspect of cloud or flower, tree or mountain, seems to escape the quick eye and patient hand of the word artist ; at rest or journeying, by night or by day, he is on the alert and we profit. He goes by the Fluela and Bernina passes to the Valtelline, and for us the glaciers shine green and sapphire through a veil of snow, the high peaks shoot aloft, sculptured marble veined with aerial blue ; he wakes a winter night in Davos, and for us its stars sparkle diamond-like or gleam orange and crimson and green, its moonlight falls tenderly in tones of cream and ivory.

But this painter has as keen a sense of the terrors of Nature. He is not forgetful that these wonderful hues are the mystic garmenting of a grim white world, home of snow and frost, storm and avalanche, pitiless foes of the free and noble human life which inhabits the slopes of the Grisons. Nothing in its way is more frightfully suggestive than the chapter he consecrates to the varied forms of Avalanche that work havoc in these valleys. Familiarity with these monsters creates only the more dread, and we shudder as we learn to discriminate them. Which is worst ? There is the Staub-Lawine of finest snow-dust that firmly, implacably clutches its victims, swathing them in a suffocating shroud, “ daughter of the storm with the breath of the tornado in its brief delirious energy ; fury-laden like a fiend in its first swirling onset, flat and stiff like

a corpse in its ultimate repose of death, containing men and beasts and trees entombed beneath its stern unwrinkled taciturnity of marble." There is the Schlag-Lawine or Stroke-Avalanche, vast loosened mass of snow, soft and sodden, pushing its blind unpitying way onward, seizing on giant pines and human dwellings, carrying them before it as battering-rams to work more mischief. There is the Grund-Lawine or Ground-Avalanche, filthy, disreputable, bearing with it masses of earth and rubbish, ugly, spiteful, "most wicked of the sisterhood," which inflicts a ghastly death by scrunching and throttling as in some grinding-machine. And all have the awful Wind of Death that foreruns them—the Lawinen-Dunst, which will seize men, horses, sledges, houses, sweep them incredible distances, dash them against cliffs, fling them among far-off trees. Strange escapes, strange deaths, strange destructions are recorded of the Lawinen-Dunst and its wild sportings with the works, the lives, the hopes of men. Three men are busied in packing wild hay; one of the three is caught by the avalanche blast, flung against a rock, and dashed to pieces; the others go unharmed. A house is swept away bodily; an old man and an infant survive, but the other inmates perish. This driver and his sledge are blown across a gorge and emerge from the snow unhurt; that one perishes with his horse, caught in like manner in an invisible, irresistible grasp. Here is a woman who was hurled into the top of a pine-tree, and still lives to tell the tale; there a man whose desperate grasp on a fir alone saved him from being flung down a precipice. Such is the havoc done by the mere fore-runner of the avalanche; how much more terrifying the "dreadful thing" itself in its widespread ravagings! As one tale of fantastic horror succeeds another, a creeping sense of awe invades the mind; we share momentarily that mood which overcame our author as he looked in April 1888 on the dreary gorges of "the Züge," wherein the torrent of the Landwasser fiercely strove to escape the overwhelming weight of avalanche on avalanche—a scene of widespread mad devastation, eloquent of "the cruel blind force" of nature, and leaving

"a sad and horrifying impression of mere ruin on the mind—

nature-forces spending themselves in waste, acting now as they have acted for past millions of years, blindly clashing together, apparently with no result, except destruction, certainly with no regard for man's convenience, and still more certainly with grave imperilment to human life."

The sad and horrifying impression recurs with every new detail, and is not dispelled even by references to the beneficent aspect that may be discerned in these snow deluges, which have their part to play in checking the growth of glaciers that would alter the climate of the country, or by descriptions of modern ingenious plans of minimising the mischief they may work. They are set forth calmly, these new incidents in the age-long warfare that man is always waging, with varying success, against the difficult conditions of his existence ; but even so, we seem aware of a sinister suggestiveness in them, as in the references to the less artful expedients of former times—the severe forest-laws that jealously protect from injury the massive natural rampart of the pinewoods ; the galleries that were built, the tunnels hollowed to protect imperilled roads ; we know why they were needed, the new original way in which engineers are now "treating" avalanches with terraces, dwarf-walls, stockades that shall arrest the earliest snow-slip. The savagery of the Alpine winter that yearly claims its victims is set before us with almost too much poetic eloquent horror.

Mute nature, terrible or beautiful, is, however, not the only thing that appeals strongly to our literary Alp-dweller in his chosen haunts. He who has looked the hard problem of his own life firmly in the face, cheerfully made the best of it, turned its drawbacks into advantages, has the most cordial sympathetic admiration for the mountaineers among whom he dwells—the men of the Grisons, or as he prefers to style it, Graubünden, mindful of the history of the little State and of the "Grey League," in which its folk bound themselves for freedom in the first years of the fifteenth century. Their history is that of a noble self-respecting race that has known how to frame laws for the benefit of the community, and how to observe them loyally, that has conquered itself first, and so has been well able to hold its own against hostile or formidable neighbours, that has warily guarded against the perils of

existence amid the threatening beautiful hills, and has wisely profited by all the gifts they have to offer. Here is a strong attraction for the gifted and sympathetic English writer, and in the complacency with which he dwells on the ways of this people in the present and in the past there is a frank affectionateness and a subtle æsthetic satisfaction, just touched from time to time with subdued regret over the transitory and fugitive human life of even these happily-constituted beings, which has a very real if singular charm.

"The people of Graubünden," he tells us, "are in many ways remarkable and different from the other Swiss"; before joining the Confederation in 1803 they had for four centuries constituted a quite independent State, "highly democratic in the forms of government, but aristocratic in feeling and social customs, proud of their ancient nobility, accustomed to rule subject Italian territories" [the wine-lands of the Valtelline to wit], "and to deal with sovereigns as ambassadors or generals." Hence, in the present generation "good breeding, a high average of intelligence, active political instincts, manliness and sense of personal freedom, conspicuous even among the poorest peasants." Admirable comrades, into whose life and friendship Mr. Symonds resolved to throw himself "as much as possible" when first he came to dwell in their midst, deriving in their companionship a healthy relief from "solitary studies and incessant quill-driving." "Nowhere on the face of the earth have republican institutions and republican virtues developed more favourably; nowhere is the social atmosphere of a democracy more agreeable at the present moment."

Behind the unpretending peasant who herds the cattle on the Alps or binds the wild hay there, who acts as guide among his own mountains or chooses to serve awhile as hotel-porter or as footman in alien towns of the Continent or of Great Britain, there is a long line often of old knightly ancestors whose coat-armour is emblazoned on the churches and manor-houses of his country, whose names figure with distinction in the military history of Europe, who won coronets and marshals' bâtons on the battlefield. The hereditary noble makes no assertion of rank to-day, well content to live in republican simplicity; but the traditions of his past, unforgotten by himself and by those

who live in equality with him, have their own refining influence on both.

With republicans of this favourable type it was not hard to form relations of frank, confiding friendship ; and many are the vivid glimpses of their manner of life, their troubles and their joys—finely and thoughtfully commented in characteristic fashion—which we win in consequence. Here is the schoolboy of fourteen whose summer months are blissfully spent in herding the cattle on the mountain meadows, basking on heathery slopes under open skies, bathing in sunlight, drinking the rich fresh milk, sleeping lightly, rising early, with a canopy of heaven above and the majestic pageant of the mountains unrolled on every side—fearless he of the snowstorms of July and the drenching rains of August ; everything on the alp is a new joy to him, and inspires that vague, deep-clinging passion for the hills for which he is famous. This free life in communion with open Nature, among the solitudes of the grandest mountains, implants self-reliance and love of liberty ; nay, one may derive from these solemn and inspiring influences during boyhood the sedate, cautious, almost religious attitude of Swiss folk, face to face with the great forces of the world.

Enviable boyhood hours so spent ! But manhood asks something more. Perhaps the *Wanderlust* seizes on the youth, and he goes far afield to win himself the modest fortune that shall enable him to live at ease in his own land ; perhaps the fortune is not to seek, and he is free in the intervals of energetic toil on his paternal lands to seek strenuous pleasures fitted for his massive strength. There, then, we may see him arrayed for wrestling, staglike in grace and power, tall and sinewy as a young Achilles ; comradely and brotherly he moves among his peers, drawn as they are from all ranks of society ; they strive together for supremacy, fiercely it seems, and yet after the most desperate encounter there is nothing of rancour, nothing of resentment, victor and vanquished shake hands and drink a friendly cup together. The golden summer sun that shines on them sees no unseemly action, the sweet air is stirred by no ill-sounding word ; “the Swiss people are a law to themselves.” Change the scene from glowing summer to deep frost-bound

winter, let it be New Year's Eve ; there shall be first, serious, cheerful feasting around the paternal board, spread with unwonted luxuries, which sons and daughters, men-servants, and maid-servants, are gathered to partake in common ; there shall be singing in measured solemnity, in hymn-like cadences or wilder measures, but always with heartiest enjoyment as the strong clear voices ring out true and firm. Then will come the hour for far wilder joy that shall be shared with the young men of the whole village, who gather to set the church-bells ringing in the lofty spire, tolling the Old Year out and the New Year in, with volleying thunder of brazen sound. No easy pleasure this ! taken in the lofty bell-chamber pierced with open windows, swept by snow-laden winds, interlaced with enormous beams, midmost among which hang the mighty bells, each of which is kept in movement by two men, who cling closely interlocked, poised on airy ladder and solid beam, and lost in a trance of something like dervish passion as they drive the force of their strong muscles into the vexed bell, swaying rhythmically to the thrilling surge of sound. "The mystery of rhythm and associated energy and blood tingling in sympathy is here ;" hard is it to break off from the sweet madness of such pleasurable toil, and make way for the comrades who throng the tower and clamour for their turn. But anon the whole tumult is hushed, not to recommence for another year ; and scattered into separate groups, the revellers are roaming the town to rouse up acquaintances and claim their hospitality, after the quaint confiding fashion of the place.

Our Englishman, though "but a weakling," has been able to take his part, unhurt and joyously, in these wintry revels ; but thoughts that are scarcely joyous mingle with his outward gladness. The wild bells hang silent in the tower, and he cannot but think of all the generations of the young who have clung to them like bees to lily-bloom, sending their strength into the sound, who have grown old and have died, and those very bells have tolled them to their snow-clad graves. There lie they silent, there will the revellers of to-day lie also too soon. But the shadowy thought is brushed aside, and resolutely the thinker takes his share in the frank gaiety of his comrades.

There is less chance for Hamlet-like musing when the sport is some wild sleigh or toboggan ride by night amid a world of whiteness, of frozen ridges and sculptured buttresses of snow; when Swiss and Englishman share alike with emulous rapture in the mad race, drinking in the fine pure air; there is even here, however, less of unreflecting glee than in the companion picture, by a younger, lighter hand, of "Hay Hauling on the Alpine Snow," where the toboggan that plunges madly down the mountainside over snow-field and under pine-forest is a vast pack of Alpine hay, and the rider is a venturesome English girl whom a Swiss peasant comrade guides.

But the grave mood recurs when we are bidden to look on the well-packed concert-room at Ilanz, where the cantonal singing club for male voices—the "Ligia Grischa" is giving its yearly entertainment. The masculine and ringing voices of the singers that throb and beat against the low roof resound vainly for him who is absorbed in considering the striking faces and forms of these men of pure race, massive shape, impassive countenance, free and disdainful carriage. Changeless in expression as masks are their boldly carved faces with ardent eyes, with hues rich in life's colouring; quiet, simple, well-bred and commonplace is their speech. But the observer knows that the most tenacious passion, the wildest impulsive action, are possible to these folk whom he loves dearly and watches over curiously; their stolid aspect is a mask indeed. What is the secret of the tragic wildness and grimness of some Graubünden stories? Here are three lads who have been crossed in youthful love affairs: very calmly each one takes his trouble to outward seeming; as why should they not who have a whole world and life before them yet? But one, after bidding a formal farewell to his faithless betrothed, is driving homeward with her brother and his sister; as they cross the slender bridge that spans the Rhine in the Viâ Mala, the forsaken lover springs up suddenly in the cart, has leapt the parapet and is dashed to death amid the sharp rocks and churning waters of the gorge below ere a hand can be lifted to stay him—"a stroke of imaginative fancy" to slay himself then and there, thinks our guide. And another, a rich man's son, loves a maiden of low degree; his father contrives to send the girl,

well dowered, out of the way to America. Coming home to learn this bereavement, the son says nothing ; but that evening he goes forth and drowns himself in the Landquart water. For a third—a fatherless heir over whose fortunes two wealthy uncles watch jealously—it is enough that these relations speak to him with sharp displeasure when, in Graubünden fashion, he has spent the Saturday night in stealthy addresses to his chosen maiden. He lies dead in the wood hard by, a bullet in his brain—a self-murdered man—before the Sunday morning has grown noon ; the opening life, on which Nature had lavished all gifts of strength and comeliness, is ruined at a stroke.

Why has this been ? Because the “concentrated life in village homes makes men all of one piece, which, when it breaks or yields, splits irretrievably to fragments” ? Because the spirit of the mountain scenery, sublime and solitary, awful in its grandeur, its joys intimately associated with peril of death, has entered into the silent souls of these youths with masks for faces ?

Our author inclines to some such solution. He recalls a lonely mountain churchyard ringed with gnarled and twisted ashes, a churchyard overlooking a widespread view of peaks, passes, snowfields, precipices, and imagines that in lonely lofty haunts like these the young Graubündners might find their life’s poetry, “a poetry collected from deep daily communings with Nature in her shyest, most impressive moods ; a poetry infused into their sense unconsciously, brought to a point and carried into some supreme emotion by meetings with a girl in such a place as this—the hours of summer twilight, when the ash trees are laden with leaves, and the mountains shrink away before the rising moon, and the torrent clamours in the gorge below, and the vast divine world expresses its meaning in one simple ineffaceable word of love.” He thinks he understands why those three lads “threw away their lives for an emotion, breaking to pieces because the mainspring of their life was broken—that which moved them, for which they had grown up to manhood, through which the dominant influences of nature on their sensitive humanity had become manifest in an outburst of irreversible passion.”

Our admirable guide amid the glories of the Renaissance looks not on life as did those two men whose works he has commented with such fine perception, and he will not stigmatise self-destroying passion as they might have done; but has he not surrendered the definite hopes, the glorious certainties of their religious belief along with its terrors, and opened the door to formless apprehensions more appalling than were ever theirs? We may not rank him as a mere "aesthetic spectator" of life, we may not assert that the literary and artistic aspect of human action interests him more deeply than the moral worthiness or the wisdom of those actions, although sometimes it seems as if even the excellences of his Swiss friends, the sharp vicissitudes of their lot, and the fine skill and courage with which they manage their existence, were for him a picturesque and poetic spectacle more than anything else. But no, life which he finds graver, more important, more permanently interesting than his own art or that of others, is not studied by him merely with cold curiosity; the sorrows of the kindly folk among whom he dwells touch him sharply.

But it is best—such seems our author's life philosophy—to admire cordially the infinite loveliness of which this mysterious Nature is lavish, to snatch delight even from the imminence of peril, to slight no innocent healthy joy, to find, if not beauty, interest and picturesqueness in the ways and doings of your fellow-travellers across this short stage of life; if neither charm nor picturesqueness are discernible, there will surely be some element of the grotesque—as in the experience of that adventurous Graubündner, of high and long descent, who took service with a family of much pretension and slender means in London, and there learned the strangest secrets of the shabby-genteel world, such as would have delighted the soul of Thackeray. Even on people like the penurious and ostentatious folk, who "never spoke a kind word" to their hard-working servant Swiss footman, there shall be no denunciations wasted. They can hardly be ranked as serious human beings, with their solemn parade of formal piety and propriety for the outer world, their genuine wranglings, grudgings, basenesses, in the home; but there is some matter for humorous observation in their sordid doings, which contrast

finely with the "simple, solid" life of the Swiss folk in their own land. With nobler creatures like these last there can be helpful sympathy; and working at some wholesome task that shall give full scope to your energies, and no less willing to receive aid from fellow-toilers than to give it, you shall not find "the riddle of the painful earth" too bewildering, too insistently present, not though your work be of a nature to acquaint you with the infinite toil and suffering of your race in the long records of its past; so much is there of abiding grandeur and glory, of rich astonishing variety, in those records, such manifestations of the Deity are therein evident to us in the appearance from time to time of "a supreme artist, sent into the world with inspiration and a particle of the imperishable fire, to be a revelation of the divine life under one of its innumerable attributes."

To interpret between such a mighty spirit and those who need to be taught by him, to clear away damaging misconceptions that would obscure his fame and deaden his power, this is a noble and an inspiring occupation for years of toil. Hope springs anew, with emulous courage, from such contemplations; the Maker of these wonders has assuredly not made them in vain. Inevitable death can be faced with a certain serenity of courage, while all the faculties are worthily tasked in the present, of which alone we are certain, while all the bright and sweet alleviations of our lot are accepted with a cheerful gratitude, and while cordial relations of mutual help and encouragement are maintained with those who make this mortal pilgrimage at our side—that pilgrimage which must be made bravely and joyously to be made well. Is it rightly resembled by our friend to the traversing of an imperfectly frozen lake that, fair as it lies amid lovely encircling mountains and under tender starlit skies, may give way at any moment beneath our feet? Even so safety lies in the command, "Enjoy the moment, then, and march!" cowardice and gloomy hesitation do but add to the risks of this "passage over perilous depths, roofed with infinity and sempiternal things."

Have we done as scanty justice to the ideal of conduct faithfully carried into practice by a dauntless invalid, to the tranquil

heroism of the life resulting, as to the brilliancy of those many sunny vignettes of Alpine and Italian life that he has left us? We would not also fail to indicate the deep and tender reverence of every allusion to Michelangelo as the Christian, and to the Redeemer in whom he trusted; we would not forget the tribute so willingly rendered to "the gospel of charity" and to Him who proclaimed it, to the defence of the religion which occupied the great artist in his closing years against the strange charges of "morbidity" and "asceticism." But there is ever a risk that in refusing to accept any but what is now often styled "the enduring element of the Christian creed," the mind may lose hold of its consolations, and "for ever toiling, for ever foiled, be obliged to content itself with the increasing consciousness of its limitations"; the mystery of the world growing deeper, the omnipresent Soul of Love ruling the universe becoming ever more marvellous, more remote. Something of that shadowy loss, to our apprehension, rests on that which is at once the lighter and brighter, the more intimate and personal of the two very diverse books we have been considering.

ART. VII.—THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

An Essay on Apostolical Succession : being a Defence of a Genuine Protestant Ministry against the exclusive and intolerant Schemes of Papists and High Churchmen, and supplying an Antidote to Popery ; also a Critique on the Apology for Apostolical Succession by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, B.C.L., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen ; and a Review of Dr. W. F. Hook's Sermon on "Hear the Church." By THOMAS POWELL, Wesleyan Minister. Second Edition. Fourth thousand. Carefully revised and much enlarged. London : Published for the Author by Thomas Ward & Co. Sold also by John Mason. MDCCXL.

And other Works.

IT is small wonder that the defenders and teachers of High Anglicanism insist strongly and stoutly upon the Apostolical Succession. They perceive shrewdly enough that

without it their position is absolutely untenable in the face of the attacks of Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and of Protestantism on the other. It is the sole defence against the superior claims of Romanism to the (so-called) Priesthood. And it is the pedestal upon which the Anglican priest takes his stand when he asserts his exclusive right to the authorised Christian ministry in England as against non-episcopalian churches. Against the Romanist the High Anglican position is almost purely defensive. Its upholders have to show that they and the Church they represent have not broken the entail. Against non-episcopal churches the doctrine is a weapon of offence—only too often practically effective. The Anglican cannot, of course, attempt to invalidate Papal orders. From them he draws his own. He must acknowledge to the fullest extent that his Roman rival possesses every qualification for the priesthood, and can argue only that he also possesses these same qualifications, and in precisely the same sense. His tone is necessarily respectful, and even apologetic. Towards the Presbyterian pastor his attitude is entirely different. Presbyterianism puts forth no pretensions to the Apostolical succession—at least, not as High Anglicans understand it—*i.e.*, through episcopal ordination. It is possible, therefore, for Anglicanism to carry on a fierce and unsparing assault, and to contend that Presbyterian churches have no true ministry whatever, that all orders are invalid that cannot boast the Succession. From this point of view, Presbyterianism, not Anglicanism, is put upon its defence.

The tables are turned, however, the moment that proof is demanded that Apostolical Succession through exclusive episcopal ordination exists. The Anglican must again act wholly on the defensive. Thus he stands continually between two fires. Against those who, on the whole, agree with him as to the necessity of the Succession, he must make good his own claim to the possession of it. Against those who reject the Succession, he must prove its existence, its validity, and its necessity. To add to his difficulties, he can scarcely reply to the one antagonist without making dangerous concessions to the other. The arguments he uses to justify his separation from Rome go far in principle towards justifying

also the Protestant Nonconformist's separation from him. And when he controverts the position of either the Evangelical party in his own Church or Protestant Nonconformity, he is compelled to employ weapons that recoil upon himself in his conflict with the Papacy. Dialectically his ground can be maintained only by extreme skill and carefulness. Hence arises a very curious phenomenon—an inclination to minimise the value of logical reasoning, and to fall back upon a semi-mystical perception of the fitness of things, an *a priori* appeal to the nature of the case which is supposed to render solid argument or historical evidence comparatively unimportant. This was actually Canon Liddon's contention in the elaborate preface to the second and third editions of his well-known sermon, *A Father in God*.

In the present article we do not propose to deal with the Anglican controversy with Rome, except as it directly affects the controversy with Presbyterian Churches. It would be too much to say that the High Anglican case against Rome is hopeless, but the battle must be fought under heavy disadvantages. To win on that side of the field means to lose on the other.*

For the Anglican assertion of the Apostolical Succession as a necessity of the true Church, and for the claim of the Established Church of England to it, we need not go farther back than to the *Tracts for the Times*, and Dean Hook's notorious sermon on *Hear the Church*, and his *Church Dictionary* articles. The most noteworthy reply to these, of anything like the same date, was Thomas Powell's *Essay on Apostolical Succession*. Its ability and importance were recognised on all sides; and the High Church party replied to it with some skill, and at least as much asperity. Their most effective weapons were provided to their hands by the essayist himself. He had examined the Fathers too hastily, had picked out just what served his purpose without much regard to the context, and without any regard to counterbalancing evidence, and had indulged in

* See *The Church; or, What do Anglicans mean by "The Church"?* By J. B. Bagshawe, D.D., Canon Penitentiary of Southwark. London : Published by St. Anselm's Society. The book bears both the *nihil obstat* and the episcopal *imprimatur*. The logical difficulties of Anglicanism receive very forcible and apt illustration.

unacknowledged condensations, omissions, and interpolations. Mr. Powell felt justified in giving what he honestly thought to be the sense of his authorities. Unfortunately, he too often allowed his own convictions to sway his interpretations. He felt so sure on general principles that the Fathers *must have* agreed with his own views that it never occurred to him that their words could bear any other signification than he instinctively assigns to them. Thus he exposed himself to telling retorts and severe criticism, and the permanent value of his book is lessened.

Despite all faults and defects, however, Powell's *Essay* remains the most forceful and useful treatise in opposition to the theory of the Apostolical Succession that has yet been issued. We do not wonder that suggestions have recently been made for its republication. He shows conclusively the Scriptural identity of bishops and presbyters, and that no evidence exists of any essential change in these offices or in their relations to each other upon the cessation of the apostolate. He replies with much keenness and insight to the deceptive analogies drawn between the Jewish high-priests and the Christian bishops. He reasons well as to the antagonism between the Succession scheme and "the general spirit and scope of the Gospel"; though he does not appreciate sufficiently the importance of ecclesiastical order. Even in the least satisfactory part of his book, his examination of the Fathers, his main contention is thoroughly established—that with the earlier Fathers "the personal succession of ministers in the Christian Church was *one mode of argument*. This was secondary and auxiliary to another, which was the succession of the *Doctrine of Christian Truth*, the succession of the *TRUE FAITH*." He sets out a good case against the early acknowledgment of a non-Presbyterian episcopacy, and he cleverly makes the most of any late traces of equality *in essentia* between the presbytery and the episcopate. He demonstrates the impossibility of tracing the line backwards to its supposed source, though he is not sufficiently master of detail. He insists rigorously upon the corruption of the Roman Church, both as a system and at particular periods, and argues therefrom that no grace of orders, no genuine Apostolical Succession could possibly be conveyed through so

foul a channel. He declares all Roman Catholic ordinations to be absolutely null and void, thereby suffering his righteous indignation to mislead his reason ; but he puts his points lucidly and strongly. He pleads earnestly, and even eloquently, for holiness of heart and life as an indispensable qualification of a minister of Christ. He gives a capital collection of the opinions of Reformers and others on the matter of orders. And he has an admirable closing chapter on *The True Succession*.

The Appendix, *A Review of Dr. Hook's Sermon*, seems to us, for literary and controversial ability, Mr. Powell's finest production. His contention that at the Reformation the Church of England took a new beginning, and was not in any real sense a continuation of that body which had been an integral part of the Church of Rome, is open to sharp criticism, but for which much more is to be said than High Anglicans are willing to acknowledge. "The Church before the Reformation," he asserts, "and the Church after the Reformation, are two *different* Churches, distinguished by directly opposite peculiar doctrines, and peculiar discipline or Church Government," as much so as the Scotch or Lutheran Churches which were "founded at the Reformation."

We have dwelt at some length upon Powell's *Essay*, because in any discussion of our subject both the man and his work deserve the fullest recognition. It is of some importance, too, to see precisely what Powell has and what he has not done. Our notice of it, besides, serves another purpose. It indicates the state of the controversy before certain recent developments occurred.

Since Powell's day considerable progress has been made in the study and comprehension of early church history.* The Ignatian Epistles have been subjected to a much severer scrutiny than they had undergone at the date of Powell's *Essay*. New manuscripts have been discovered which have exercised an influence—albeit comparatively slight—upon the controversy ; e.g., the *Didache* renders the notion that the bishops succeeded to the place and power of the apostles utterly

* The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, as bearing upon ecclesiastical polity, are included under this phrase.

untenable. Bishop Lightfoot's essay on *The Christian Ministry* constitutes a landmark in the controversy on account of its mastery of its material, its judicially impartial tone, its skilful and almost exhaustive exhibition of the facts, its width of view, and its lucidly-drawn conclusions; but yet more on account of the acknowledged learning of the author, his transparent honesty, and his ecclesiastical position. As High Anglicans do dispute them, politeness forbids us to say that no reasonable man can fail to be convinced by Bishop Lightfoot's arguments; but, at any rate, they strike a heavy blow at the Successionist hypothesis, and oblige its advocates to test afresh the security of their *point d'appui*. Bishop Lightfoot, indeed, has done more; he has shown that link after link at the very beginning of the chain will not bear the stress to which it is subjected. If "the Episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localisation but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them" (*Lightfoot*)—then the doctrine of Apostolic Succession hangs on the empty air.

Our increasing knowledge and comprehension of the conditions into which the church was born and of the manner of its growth—almost every investigation into its faith and life and polity—tell against the Succession doctrine. Where this is not admitted, it is felt. Consequently, as we have intimated, the defenders and exponents of High Anglicanism manifest a disposition—by no means surprising in the circumstances—to forsake the ground of history, and to entrench themselves in certain *a priori* principles. Roughly speaking, their contention is—without a priesthood, without a ministry in exclusive succession from the Apostles, the sacramental theory of covenanted salvation cannot be maintained: but the aforesaid theory is the only true one: *ergo*, the Apostolical Succession *must* exist: it is a spiritual necessity. Examination of this position we defer for a while.

Another set of investigations has hugely affected the High Church argument. The real significance of the English Reformation, the methods by which it was carried out, the aim of its leaders, the state of affairs during its progress,

have received lately much illustration and attention. It has come to be understood that the idea that the only important change effected at the Reformation was the abjurement of the Pope's supremacy is a pure delusion. That the Church of England passed through the Reformation without any breach of continuity, without any loss of "catholicity," cannot now be maintained except on principles of Protestantism which High Churchmen deny. The fact that, during the progress of the Reformation, Presbyterian orders were freely acknowledged, and that ministers in such orders were frequently admitted to English benefices and allowed to act as clergymen of English churches without re-ordination—and, moreover, that this was done on principle and not from negligence or indifference—can no longer be disputed. Exactly how this affects the Successionists' estimate of their own position we are not able to pronounce. No book of any note or authority has been published to aid us in forming a judgment: * we have to rely on reports of speeches and on articles and letters in various journals. The tendency seems to be to regard the period of the Reformation up to Elizabeth's autocratic interference with the Genevan development of ecclesiastical polity, or perhaps to the second "Black Bartholomew," as a species of interregnum during which the succession was preserved by a special providence. That the then Protestant Episcopate took no pains to preserve it, and did not hold its necessity, scarcely any one has the courage to doubt.

The *Church Quarterly Review*, indeed, distinctly expresses its belief "that the Church of England has been almost as it were by miracle preserved from merging into a Protestant sect, and from being utterly extinguished in the time of the Stuart dynasty," and declares:

* Dr. F. G. Lee's *The Church under Queen Elizabeth* is scarcely an exception. Its main object is to show that the Reformation was essentially criminal and schismatical, that the Church of England is "of the earth earthy," and that the only remedy is "an acknowledgment of the traditional and reasonable rights of the See of St. Peter," "the primacy of the father of the faithful—of him who, in Christ's Name, guides both pastors and sheep, as patriarch of the Church Universal." The first edition of this book was published in 1879; the "new and revised edition" in 1892. And Dr. Lee remains a minister of the Church, the natural results of which he sees "in authority, civil as well as ecclesiastical, almost destroyed, in schism of every sort completely justified, in heresy, at once fostered, strengthened, and sheltered"!

"Of course it must be admitted that all kinds of irregularities occurred not only in those reigns [Henry VIII., Edward VI.], but still more in that of Elizabeth. That many things occurred which we heartily deplore must be admitted. Of this transition stage of the Church of England we can only say with the poet :

Pudet hec opprobia nobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse repellri.

And we may indeed be thankful for the breakwater which was interposed and which stopped the flowing flood of Protestantism in the reign of Philip and Mary. Had not Edward died so opportunely as he did, the Second Prayer Book of 1552 would soon have been in common use as the authorised standard of doctrine, when that third book, which is known to have been in contemplation, would have superseded it, and obliterated the few marks of Catholic doctrine still traceable in the second."

We shall refer to this passage again : at present we simply set it by the side of another from the same *Review* : "If the Established Church of this day is not the same Church as was established in the reign of Henry VII., it is no Church at all, but only a schismatical body separated from the rest of the Western Church, and broken off from the unity of the Church Catholic."

Nevertheless, when we speak of the High Anglican change of front, we must observe some caution, and carefully distinguish between things that differ. We may easily over-estimate the present effect of the movement. No perceptible trace of it is found in arguments, exhortations, denunciations, provided for popular consumption. They repeat the old story without any variation. The latest edition of *Hook's Church Dictionary* calls bishops the successors of the apostles, declares that the three orders have descended intact from apostolic times, and reckons episcopacy essential to the very idea of the Church. It is apparently unconscious that Bishop Lightfoot ever lived. Canon Benham's *Dictionary of Religion* affirms

"that every minister of the Church of England is able to say : 'I received my ministerial authority at the hands of the Bishop of _____, who received his [with authority to transmit it to me] at the hands of three or more bishops by whom he was consecrated, each of these three or more receiving theirs from three or more predecessors, and so on up to the Apostles themselves.' Thus the Apostolical Succession

resolves itself into an official genealogy, which may be traced out in a manner parallel to that of a natural genealogy." *

Mr. Morse parades his consecration-lists just as if he knew no better, and he refers proudly to "the renewal of the Succession" through the unfortunate (excommunicated Romish) Archbishop of Spalatro—a performance as amusing as amazing, if we look merely at the effort to pick up the lost end of the cable and to mend the riven links.

Similarly, as Mr. Gilbert Child has pointed out, † Mr. J. H. Blunt in his work, *The Reformation of the Church of England, its History, Principles, and Results*, does not hesitate to ignore the mass of contrary evidence, and calmly and positively puts forth the astounding assertion, that "no minister of any Protestant community, British or foreign, has ever been received as, or permitted to act as, a priest of the Church of England, whatever form of ordination he may have gone through, until he had been ordained at the hands of a bishop." He professes to have consulted independently original documents, and burdens his bulky volumes with references to them and lengthy excerpts from them; yet he recounts the history of the Prayer-Book alterations, and the general progress of the English Reformation, as though he had never studied any real authorities at all. According to Mr. Child—and he is certainly right—well-informed High Churchmen laugh in their sleeve at Mr. Blunt's audacious congeries of misrepresentations; but the prominent part it plays in popular controversy has at least their tacit sanction. Mr. Aubrey L. Moore, the rising hope of the new High Church party, a man of real capacity and profound con-

* Mr. Benham appears to have some hesitation about this strong statement. He calls it "historically probable," and remarks: "The reasonably sure proof of this ministerial genealogy is not so difficult in practice as it seems to be in theory." He then traces the consecration of the present Archbishop of Canterbury back to "Archbishop Plegmund, who was (if not consecrated in England) consecrated by Pope Formosus in A.D. 891." This is delicious. Imagine a herald or a lawyer tracing "a natural genealogy" back to a man who was son of a Roman gentleman and born in Rome, if he was not the son of an English gentleman and born in England! Canon Benham must know that no trustworthy or official record of Plegmund's consecration exists. From his discharging archiepiscopal functions it is inferred that he must have been consecrated; and there is some other presumptive evidence. But all this falls far short of proof.

† *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1892, "The Present Position of the High Church Party."

viction, in his *Lectures* upon the Reformation in England and on the Continent, falls into the same snare, praises and defers to Mr. Blunt, and quietly prætermits all inconvenient testimony.* In his *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, Mr. Haddan, one of the most able, earnest, temperate, and firm upholders of the Succession theory, whose book is of all High Anglican publications on the subject the most likely to convince a doubter and to damage an opponent, pays altogether insufficient attention to the significance and effect of the Reformation as regards doctrine, ritual, and polity. And, while he expounds the New Testament in harmony with his own view, he takes scant notice of the objections that have been raised to it, or of the counter-interpretation. One tendency of the new Anglicanism is said to be the abandonment of a rigid sacerdotalism.[†] There are unmistakable signs that in this quarter also High Churchmen are being driven from their trenches. We doubt, however, whether the change is not concerned rather with more careful statement than with doctrine. Be this as it may, the change, whatever its exact nature, induces High Anglicans to hold "more tightly than ever to Apostolical Succession as the Divine cornerstone of the Church;" and our present business is with this latter bent.

When the argument for Apostolical Succession is founded upon the necessity of the case, historical illustration is not abandoned, the *a priori* principle becomes a canon of exegesis. Mr. Haddan urges this with all his power. He writes:

* Mr. J. H. Blunt does furnish indications that he is aware that he is skating over the thinnest of ice; but they escape him involuntarily. He does not care to conceal even from himself that he is a pure partisan, with a cause to make good at any sacrifice. Mr. Moore's *Lectures* were published posthumously. His main anxiety is—(1) To show that the Church in England was so far independent of Rome that separation from her involved no severance of continuity and no breach of catholicity, "continuity" and "catholicity," of course, bearing their High Anglican connotation; and (2) To minimise both the temporary and the permanent results of the Reformation. Do what he will, the skeleton of "schism" insists on intruding its unwelcome presence, and Mr. Moore is obviously afraid of it. Had he lived longer, we think he would have dealt more straightforwardly and courageously with the opinions, purposes, and acts of the English Reformers, and their consequences. His *Lectures* give hints of such an intention.

[†] *The New Anglicanism.* By Rev. J. S. Banks. *Methodist Times*, May 26, 1892.

"It is not too much to say that our continuity through it [the Apostolical Succession] with the Church of the Apostles, and so with the Great Head of the Church Himself, alone gives us firm standing ground, both against the claims of Rome and against the sects that it is connected, in its natural issues, with the very belief in a supernatural system at all, and ultimately with a belief even in the doctrine of grace; and that, if the era of Establishment is passing away, it alone will permanently hold us together as a Church." The Succession is "bound up with the principle of a Church divinely appointed, and with the whole range of what is briefly called Sacramental doctrine."

"If the grace of orders be a grace at all, we are brought in the end to that which is specially intended by Apostolical Succession, viz., to a belief that the gift of orders, so transmitted by the Bishop, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, must needs have descended in unbroken line from those who first had it, viz., the Apostles; inasmuch as nothing short of a new revelation or a new commission from God can create afresh that gift, which Christ gave once for all at the beginning."

Plainly Mr. Haddan starts with the postulate that the Succession must have an objective existence. But he adds, "The need of such a continuity involves the further need of an historical proof of it as a fact." He devotes fully half his space to the display of this proof. He is conscious that it is not altogether convincing, and dwells strongly upon God's power to remedy defects in individual links of the chain, arguing that the institution of the ministry and the original commission guarantee that such defects should not occur. Not only are deficiencies of objective proof supplied by subjective conceptions, but the former stands subordinate and subservient to the latter.

Mr. Gore* does not display his foregone determination quite so freely, and he scouts the very notion of failure of adequate historic evidence. He examines "the witness of Church history" "and the ministry in the sub-Apostolic age" in a much more elaborate and learned fashion than Mr. Haddan attempts. Nevertheless, the underlying presumptions are clearly perceptible. They are such as these: the continuity of the Church can be maintained only by a visible ministry which can trace its institution to the Apostolate; no descent from the Apostolate can be traced except through a series of

* *The Church and the Ministry.*

regular ordinations by men exclusively commissioned to transmit it ; the sacraments are the sole "covenanted channels of grace," and their validity depends upon their administration by men whose external descent stretches uninterruptedly from the Apostolate. "This essential finality [of the Christian religion] is expressed in the once for all delivered faith, in the fulness of the once for all given grace, in the visible society once for all instituted ; and it is at least, therefore, a 'tenable proposition' that it should have been expressed in a once for all empowered and commissioned ministry."

It does not belong to our present task to criticise Mr. Gore's views as to primary principles, New Testament exegesis, or the witness of history. His work has been reviewed in this JOURNAL by a writer quite competent to expose his misrepresentations and assumptions. We content ourselves with observing that the new Anglican method transfers the battle from the field of history, and concerns itself with more fundamental questions—the nature of the Church, the purpose and efficacy of the Sacraments, the Divine provision for the bestowal of grace. Mr. Gore's principles, carried to their ultimate issue, would materialise that which is most spiritual in Christianity. But it is a "far cry" from a visible Church and a visible ministry to a materialistic succession transmitted from hand to head. Nevertheless, "the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession" is "the recognised basis of all her [Church of England] teaching on the ministry." However clearly we may perceive that sacramentalism and the succession may exist separately, in practical Anglicanism each leans upon the other ; either miracle needs the support of the other. In the latest High Church manifesto, *The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, there is paraded sacerdotalism of the boldest and extremest type. The "Jewish sacrifices were the nearest resemblance that was possible then to the only sacrifice that can take away the sin of the world And He has told us to 'do' on earth at the earthly altar what He is 'doing' in heaven at the altar there. . . . God puts into the hands of the Christian priest the adorable mystery of the Blessed Sacrament—the Body and the Blood—and we lift it up and offer it to God." Here, at any rate, the new Anglicanism has

neither changed nor concealed its sacerdotalism. To this the Succession is an absolute necessity. For its sake the Succession theory must be maintained by any device and at any cost.

Nor does the new Anglicanism bate one jot of its claims on behalf of the Divine origin and authority of episcopacy, though it abandons the vain effort to find episcopacy in the New Testament, and prefers "to account for the rise of the episcopate out of the transition from the itinerant to the settled ministry." It admits no consideration of expediency, and will have nothing short of appointment by the Church's Head. We quote a single illustration. The *Church Quarterly* wishes "to point out that the so-called ordinations of Wesley's later years were not unaccountable breaks inconsistent with his previous history; but that they were of a piece with fifty years of . . . practical denial, that the souls of a diocese are entrusted to a bishop by Christ Himself." The statement as to Wesley's consistency is plausible, but not true; the assumption with which it concludes verges upon blasphemy.

One further remark we must make before leaving this part of our subject. The Anglican change of front brings High Churchmen not one inch nearer to the acknowledgment of Presbyterian Churches. Mr. Haddan, Mr. Gore, Canon Liddon vie with each other in kindly and courteous references to believers in Christ who are outside the so-called "Catholic" pale. Their sincerity and their faith are admitted generously; every uncovenanted blessing which God can bestow is allowed them freely. But Churchmanship is denied them. Canon Liddon declared that "that which, in our belief and to our sorrow, the non-Episcopal communities lack, is a share in any of those privileges which depend upon a ministry duly authorised by Christ our Lord . . . especially do they lack the precious Sacrament of His Body and Blood." Mr. Gore practically reaffirms this sentence: "It follows then—not that God's grace has not worked, and worked largely, through many an irregular ministry where it was exercised or used in good faith—but that a ministry non-episcopally received is invalid—that is to say, falls outside the conditions of covenanted security, and cannot justify its existence in terms of the covenant."

Another feature of the new Anglicanism is perhaps not

wholly peculiar to, but is hugely exaggerated by it—the resolute endeavour to place the evidence for the Succession and the evidence for the inspiration and authority of Holy Writ upon the same level. “How then,” inquires Mr. Haddan, “if the evidence for an Apostolical ministry is to be set aside, is it possible to maintain with consistency either the doctrines of the Creed or the Canon of the New Testament? If all these rest upon evidence of the same kind, and that evidence even more precise in the one case than in the other, then certainly to reject that which is proved the most distinctly, must carry on the reason inevitably and *a priori* to reject the other too.” Canon Liddon has some almost identical utterances. Mr. Gore puts the case somewhat differently. In the preface to the tenth edition of *Lux Mundi* we read:

“I do not think that we can conceal from ourselves that if we are to defend a purely conservative attitude in regard to Old Testament literature, we shall require quite different canons of evidence from those which we are able so successfully to use in vindicating the historical character of the New Testament; or again, in vindicating the claims of the Apostolic ministry and the sacramental system to be part of the original fabric of the Christian Church. In other words, the critical principles of historical inquiry which *do* so amply justify us in retaining substantially the traditional position in regard as well to the New Testament documents as to our Church principles, *do not* carry us to the same point in the field of the Old Testament.”

Of course, we cannot enter here into the comparisons of evidence thus challenged. Whatever weight we allow to the above plea attaches to our greater distance from Old Testament than from New Testament, sub-apostolic and patristic times. Does the strange alliance between High Anglicanism and destructive criticism spring from the desire to exalt the Succession theory and the Sacramental system by diminishing the heritage of the Christian Church in the Scriptures of truth? The threat of the loss of New Testament and Creed, if we will not accept the Succession and its concomitants, could proceed only from those to whom ecclesiastical tradition looms so large that it hides more or less completely all else from their eyes.

The researches into the history of the English Reformation of (say) the last twenty years have added enormously to the

difficulties of High Anglicanism. Mr. Moore asserts that the Reformation principles were—(1) the National Independence and Catholic unity of the Church of England; (2) An Apostolically descended Episcopate; (3) A Sacerdotal ministry; (4) An efficient Sacramental system. Substantially these were Dr. Hook's contentions, though they are put rather differently. And Dr. Hook's statements still form the backbone of the High Church case as popularly exhibited. Mr. Blunt's *History* was written to support these or the like theories. For a long time experts in the history of the English Reformation have been well aware that the propositions were very far removed from accuracy. Mr. Blunt himself, whose bold declaration as to the Church of England and Presbyterian orders we have already cited, admits that in 1660 a considerable number of the churches were served "still" by "ministers that had not been Episcopally ordained." He leaves the two statements to agree or disagree as they may, without any overtures of reconciliation on his part. And Canon Liddon emphasises "the importance of 1662 as putting an end to any apparent inconsistencies in respect of the principle of ordination, which may be discernible in the practice of some members of the Church of England during the preceding century." Mild as is this presentation of the matter, it suffices to show that the Church of the Reformation did acknowledge Presbyterian orders, and stood on terms of brotherhood with Presbyterian churches.

The newest phase of High Anglicanism takes no pains to conceal facts of the character of those we have just referred to, and allows the historical inferences to be drawn from them. It is somewhat startling, for instance, to read in the *Guardian*:

"If, as is asserted by Burnet, the Reformation had been completed by the Elizabethan Prayer-Book, and the Church of England had had no history subsequent to the death of Elizabeth, it would have been a hard matter to defend her present position, which it will scarcely be denied represents a front very different from that of three centuries ago—say, for instance, the year 1590, when the first mutterings of the Divine right of Episcopacy came again to be heard amongst the clergy. It has already come to be recognised that Churchmen cannot fall back for a justification of their position upon the opinions of Edwardian or Elizabethan divines, that there has

been a true and real reaction against the principles of the Reformation."

These sentences are copied from a review of Mr. Gilbert W. Child's *Church and State under the Tudors*, a book which every one who wishes an intelligent grasp of the history and meaning of the Reformation should peruse. With respect to Presbyterian orders Mr. Child declares: "It can be proved beyond reasonable doubt that Episcopal orders were not insisted on in practice, in the Church of England, as an indispensable condition to ministry, down to the Great Rebellion, or in one or two instances even after it." He heaps example upon example in proof of this judgment. Ministers in Presbyterian orders were admitted not merely to benefices, but to "dignitary" office. In all likelihood these cases should be counted by hundreds rather than scores. When four bishops were appealed to by the Crown concerning the legality of these transactions they unanimously decided in their favour, Bishop Cosin declaring roundly that re-ordination in such cases "was never yet done in the Church of England." In another place Mr. Child says: "Episcopal descent was not considered necessary to the validity of ordination under Elizabeth." The *Guardian* comments: "The fact is so notorious that we wonder that he should have been at such pains to rake up instances to prove it."*

Perhaps yet more suggestive, particularly on account of the name, *Nicholas Pocock*, over which they appear, are three articles on *The Church in the Time of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts*. They are concerned chiefly with Calvinistic theology in the Establishment, but incidentally they make such statements as these: "As to the belief in an Apostolic Succession in the Episcopate it is not to be found in any of the writings of the Elizabethan divines;" "probably not a single bishop was to be found who believed in his own Divine

* Mr. Child reminds us also of a well-known, though often overlooked, fact that till 1820 many of the clergy in the Channel Islands had only Presbyterian ordination: "It seems to prove that the Bishops of Winchester [in whose diocese are these Islands] either deliberately left some hundreds of the people committed to their charge without valid sacraments, or they did not believe in the doctrine of Apostolical Succession . . . and this from generation to generation for a matter of 250 years."

commission or in the efficacy of the Sacraments ; " "there must have been many churches either not served at all or served by laymen." And Mr. Pocock justifies all three of these assertions with ample proof ; and shows that not only the hierarchy but the rank and file of the clergy held Calvinistic and Zuinglian opinions with regard to ecclesiastical polity.

The bearing of all this on the Anglican Succession is obvious. Unless we are to substitute faith for evidence, the gravest doubts are thrown upon the validity of Anglican orders. Who can possibly be sure that Presbyterian orders have not crossed and tainted Episcopalian orders ? Nay, it is almost impossible that the two streams should not have united and the Presbyterian virus have poisoned the Episcopalian river of grace. And in this matter uncertainty is equivalent to proof positive of mischief and worthlessness.*

Reviewing Dean Lefroy's Donellan Lectures on *The Christian Ministry*, the *Church Quarterly* refers to the use the Dean makes of the admission to benefices in the Church of England of persons in Presbyterian orders, and proceeds to the following extraordinary attempt at a *reductio ad absurdum* :

" In the reign of Edward VI., and so actually contemporary with the publication of *The Forme & Maner of Makynge and Consecracyng of Archbischoppes, Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons*, the grasping layman, Thomas Cromwell, appointed himself Dean of Wells ; and in the reign of Elizabeth two laymen, Sir John Worley and Sir Christopher Perkins, were successively appointed to the Deanery of Carlisle. So if we extend the Dean's line of argument from the clericalist sects to the non-clericalist sects it will prove as good for the validity of the orders of a Quaker minister, or of a Salvationist-captain, or of any other layman, as for Presbyterian or Independent ordination. It is as good for no ordination at all as it is for the ordination to which the Dean applies it, and it proves that any layman may be a dean."

This quotation points its own moral, and it carries the argument much further than we should have ventured to carry it. On *Successionist principles* it is unanswerable. If the history of the Established Church is to be interpreted according to Successionists' theory, THEN that Church does not hold any

* See "Baptism and Ordination," *London Quarterly Review*, No. CL.

difference between lay and cleric. In our view, of course, it is the method of interpretation that is at fault.*

On another point put by Mr. Child, and confirmed by the *Guardian* and the *Church Quarterly*, a few sentences must suffice, as we have been obliged partially to anticipate it. The older Anglican school consistently posed as the true successors of the Reformers. They contended stoutly for the identity of the pre- and the post-Reformation Churches. The Reformers fought for Anglican liberties superior to the Gallican. Now all this has to be abandoned. The Church in England was as truly part of the Church of Rome, and as subject to the Papal See, as the Church in any Continental nation. The notions of continuity and identity were quite foreign to the Reformation divines. The laws against dissent were not intended as defences of the Church of England, but as enforcements of an established religion. *Le roi se révult* was at once their motive and their justification. From one point of view the question of identity counts not a feather's weight; from another it is pregnant with serious consequences. Dean Hook and his coadjutors would not have been so eager to prove the identity if they had not felt that the loss of it must be sadly damaging. At the very least, it places High Churchmen in a false position, and lays them open to an accusation of imperfect (intellectual) honesty.

Out of this confusion there is no way of escape. The "transition" hypothesis will not hold water for a moment. You cannot treat the Tractarian and the new Anglican movements as a "recovery from the principles of the Reformation," for which you "thank God"; you cannot treat the Reformation as a crime and the Reformers as criminals, and at the same time reason that the English Church is the legitimate and faithful daughter and heir of the Reformation. There is no avoiding the conclusion that the Church of England is a

* In the same article we read: "Such [Episcopalian] ordination, and no other, being the common law and custom of Christ's Church through all ages and in all nations, and never yet broken in England since the conversion of the English [the italics are ours] the Church of England has no choice but to go on observing it, and hence is obliged to decree its unbroken continuation." The Anglican Successionist case breaks down so pitifully in the face of history that it cannot even be stated without self-contradiction, unless history be ignored altogether.

schismatical sect. Perilously near do the more logical High Anglicans come to this. We have heard Dr. Lee advocating reconciliation to Rome (and on the pattern of Cardinal Pole's reconciliation); we have heard others rejoicing in the early death of the sixth Edward, and glorifying Queen Mary as a bulwark of true religion. From the same source come eulogies of Fawkes and other Popish plotters as saintly martyrs, and contemptuous references to the Protestant martyrs in the reign of "bloody Mary" as deservedly punished felons and traitors to the Christian faith. In the long run the Succession theory, if logically followed, leads to Rome—though Rome itself does not teach it as historically and externally true.

The fatal tendency to blundering expedients and to ostrich-like hiding of the eyes from palpable consequences must receive yet another illustration. "The moral argument," we are told, "in favour of" the "validity" of Anglican ordinations "is certainly very strong, perhaps stronger than either the theological or the historical argument." Dr. Lee shall give this moral argument in his own words:

"When the frightful state of degradation into which the national Church during Elizabeth's reign had been brought is honestly contemplated, and when the striking contrast between its position then and its altered state now is duly realised—the manner in which so much that had been then cast away as valueless is now sought after, and has been once more secured; the beautiful restoration of cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches; the rebuilding of new ones after Catholic models; the renewed interest in all ecclesiastical subjects by an earnest and self-denying minority; the restored worship, the living zeal, the obvious results—we may reasonably infer (though there be no exact precedent nor perfect parallel in past history for the complex character and unique position of the Established Church of England) that, as divine grace has never been withdrawn from her crippled rulers, so an inherent and essential distinction between clergy and laity has been, in the main, consistently and continually maintained and admitted."

We will not stay to notice the damaging admission of uncertainty. But if "the moral argument"—the argument from results—is worth anything, surely it is valid on behalf of those concerning whom it may be asked, "What 'Sacerdotalist' does not wish to be as rich a partaker of salvation as he sees many a Dissenter by his pious life to be?" It is this very argument

from results that weighs most with many a sincere and strongly convinced "Churchman," who dares not, because of it, to unchurch Nonconforming communions. And it is this very argument of which "sacerdotalists" make so light when it is urged in the behalf of Nonconformist Churches. It is curious to see Successionists compelled to employ it in their own defence.

The progress of events between the Reformation and 1662 involves other consequences directly affecting the Anglican Succession. Already we have given specimens and proofs of the opinions and practices of the Reformers on this subject. In view of a further inference from them, some further testimony may be added. It is acknowledged now "that not a whisper of an apostolic succession was ever heard, and not a syllable of any such doctrine is to be found in the writings of Elizabethan divines until the celebrated sermon of Bancroft was preached and published in the year of the destruction of the Spanish Armada."* Mr. Child says: "The whole of the lives and writings of the Elizabethan divines, with the single and perhaps doubtful exception of Bishop Chads, of Gloucester, agreed in doctrine with the Churches of Zurich and Geneva, and would almost certainly have followed them in practice also, but for the personal predilections of the Queen." It is equally certain that the earlier Reformation divines, from Cranmer downwards, held the same opinions, and had no thought of carrying on from Rome the apostolical succession. This Keble's Preface to *Hooker* practically and unwillingly confesses; albeit, he is quite unaware of the force of the reluctant admission. Side by side with this let us place another momentous fact. Bonner's celebrated refusal to acknowledge Bishop Hooke's jurisdiction or rightful episcopal office can be used only as evidence of canonical irregularity. Very probably Bonner meant a great deal more, but we cannot prove that he did. It is something worse than a tactical blunder to urge this incident as showing the invalidity of the Reformation consecrations. High Church champions can contend, with much plausibility, that Bonner's objections had to do with the legitimacy of Hooke's rule over a particular diocese. According to this view,

* Dr. Rigg, *Church Organisation*, pp. 64-5, shows why the reaction began in that year.

he was an intruder, but not a pretender. Be it so; but what followed? The statute (8 Eliz. c. 1) decrees not the technical regularity, but the validity of all consecrations under the Act of Uniformity: the Queen, "by her supreme power and authority hath dispensed [mark the past tense] with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may be objected against the same." A more complete exercise of the dispensing power cannot be conceived.

In the face of these indubitable facts, the Anglican claim to the Succession must fail. Here are confessed imperfections and disabilities covering a much larger sphere than Bonner's technical plea. These are remedied by no ecclesiastical or spiritual process, but by Act of Parliament and the royal will. High Churchism and Erastianism should stand at daggers drawn. Yet a ranker example of Erastianism cannot be imagined. And to it the Anglican clergy owe the validity of their consecration. Even this is not all. The Act testifies that some episcopal consecrations were of uncertain worth. Either these defects may be cured by statute law, or they inhere in episcopal consecrations to this day. Either alternative robs the Church of England of the Apostolical Succession. Our argument may be purely *ad hominem*, but it is none the less germane to the issue.

To do it justice, Anglicanism does not try to evade this difficulty; it boldly "takes the bull by the horns." It pronounces that "the Act of Uniformity was an implied acknowledgment that the State, that Sovereigns and Parliaments have no right to invent a gospel, a ministry, or an ordination for Christ's Church," and that the "Nonconformist and Separatist preachers" who officiated as clergymen of the English Church had only "an Act of Parliament ordination." It is hard, however, to see how the Act of Uniformity, *as an Act*, differs from other Acts of Parliament. Let us remind ourselves again that that Act was not, so far as the validity of ordinations even were concerned, merely declaratory.

The Anglican claim to the Succession fails also for another reason. Let us ask how the succession and the grace of orders depending upon it were conveyed? The ordinators and consecrators had no intention of conveying them—that is beyond

dispute. The ordained and consecrated had no expectation of receiving them—that is beyond dispute in some cases, and extremely probable in very many. If we were dealing with Romish ordinations and consecrations, absence of intention and expectation would be of no importance, so far as the succession went. But, to their credit be it spoken, High Churchmen cannot accept this doctrine of indifference. According to Mr. Gore, the sacraments are the instruments of grace, but the grace is received by an inward faith. The new Anglicanism forswears the *ex opere operato* hypothesis. Grace must come through ordination, as it comes through the sacraments—*i.e.*, it requires an act of faith for its reception; without this faith existent in either party, the whole ceremony must be null and void.

Yet here again we meet with the inevitable confusion and contradiction. Mr. Pocock insists as emphatically as need be upon this absence of intention in both ordainer and ordained. In the same number of the *Guardian*, a leading article replies to Mr. Child's *Contemporary Review* article. It surrenders at discretion all that Mr. Gore has pleaded for so warmly of grace conveyed and received through faith and by spiritual organs. It intimates that the doctrine of intention is difficult and delicate, and falls back upon extracts from Romish authorities, who judge "intention" to be non-essential. Indubitably, the Succession cannot be saved otherwise. But what a price is paid for it! Mr. Pocock draws a very gloomy picture of the morals of both clergy and laity during the Elizabethan period.* Take a single and by no means the strongest sentence:

"I suppose I should not be far from the truth if I were to describe the episcopate of Elizabeth's reign as having scarcely any other history than that of entering upon simoniacal contracts made with the Queen or her favourites; of spoiling their dioceses to the prejudice of their successors during their occupancy of the see; of engaging in suits for dilapidations upon a death or translation between the newly-appointed bishop and the outgoing prelate or his heirs."

* We must not be supposed to adopt Mr. Pocock's picture in its entirety. But it is the only one which his school can paint. Whether it be correct or no, it is good argumentatively. From our point of view and that of Anglicanism the Reformation was incapable of conveying the succession from Rome, though for altogether different reasons. Papists and Protestants almost necessarily form antagonistic judgments of individual and national character when regarded in the light of the Reformation.

And these were the men to whom the souls of the diocese had been committed by Christ Himself, and through whom the succession—and its grace—runs!

To such a succession High Anglicanism is shut up, despite Mr. Gore's protests. If Anglicanism chooses to retain the Apostolical Succession, as conducted by mere physical channels; if the virtue consisted in the simple touch of the hand of an unbeliever upon the head of an unbeliever, then sacraments, too, must act by the same method. On these principles, faith and spiritual life, the submission of the will to God, the humble readiness to accept the Divine Grace, must be relegated to a secondary position, and the Christian religion become a vast system of materialistic magic. From these conclusions many High Churchmen would shrink in as stupendous horror as ourselves, but they cannot be avoided unless the succession is sacrificed. But indications are not wanting—notably in Mr. Gore's and Mr. Lock's writings—that the experimental religion of our High Anglican brethren will one day burst the bonds in which, to our grief and its own detriment, it is now confined.

ART. VIII.—THE FUTURE OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

1. *The Future of British Agriculture.* By Professor SHELDON.
London : W. H. Allen & Co. 1893.
2. *Board of Agriculture : Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, with Abstract Returns for the United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries.* 1892.
3. *Royal Commission on Labour.* Vol. I. *Reports on the Agricultural Labourer.* Parts i. iii. iv. v. and vi. 1893.
4. *Report from the Select Committee on Marking Foreign Meat.* 1893.

5. *Reports on Dairy Farming in Denmark, Sweden and Germany.* Issued by the Board of Agriculture. 1892.
6. *Report on Poultry Yards and Dairy Farms in France.* (Foreign Office Series.) 1893.
7. *Report on the Trade and Agriculture of Switzerland.* (Foreign Office Series.) 1891.

THE work first referred to at the head of this article appears at an opportune moment. British agriculture has weathered many storms in the past, but never has it had to face a crisis more severe than that through which it is now passing, and even the most sanguine believers in its recuperative powers must admit that its future has seldom presented a more gloomy outlook. Perhaps the strongest evidence that can be adduced in support of this opinion is to be found in the fact, that it was unanimously endorsed by the National Agricultural Conference held in St. James's Hall in December last—a thoroughly representative gathering, attended by most of the leading landowners and their agents, and by delegates sent from over 240 clubs, associations, and unions in all parts of the United Kingdom, consisting of both farmers and labourers. It is to be feared that this striking "demonstration" for the first time by the most long-suffering and least aggressive portion of the community has as yet done little to arouse the general public from its habitual apathy with regard to agriculture; and also that the offer to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the subject, which the remonstrances of the few members representing agricultural interests in the House of Commons has induced the Government to appoint, can only be regarded as the most polite way of shelving the question for some two or three years. The most promising result, as it appears to us, of the Conference, which was unfortunately by no means unanimous as to the best remedies for checking agricultural depression, was Lord Winchelsea's proposal for the formation of a National Agricultural Union of landowners, tenants, and labourers, for the protection of their common interests; but the meetings with this object held in various parts of the country earlier in the year do not seem so far to have yielded much practical fruit. If one member of the body suffers, however,

all the members must sooner or later suffer with it, and there can be no doubt that the continued operation of the economic causes which have produced "agricultural depression," will before long compel the nation to realise that it vitally concerns not only one class but the whole of the community. It may, therefore, be of interest to examine its nature and extent, the causes which have combined to produce it, and what prospect there is of its ultimate alleviation.

I. In order to form a due estimate of the present agricultural crisis it is necessary to bear in mind not only the numbers and wealth of the class specially affected by it, as compared with the rest of the community, but also the extent of land appropriated for their especial use.

The total area of land and water in Great Britain is 56,742,508 acres; and of this, 42,864,811 acres are devoted to agricultural purposes, the amount of cultivated land being 32,685,500 acres, of which 4,706,679 are occupied by owners, and 27,978,871 by tenants; while 9,272,169 acres of mountain and heath land are used for grazing purposes, 905,759 acres for woods and plantations, and 1383 for nursery grounds.*

The "agricultural classes" who own or occupy this large extent of land comprise the aristocracy of various ranks; the county gentry, with incomes ranging from £10,000 to £3000 a year; the farmers, whether gentlemen-farmers, or yeomen farming their own land, or farmers farming leased land, the farms in each case varying in extent from 800 to 300 acres; and, lastly, the labourers, the highest class of whom, such as wheelwrights, thatchers, shepherds, &c., earn from 15s. to 30s. a week, while the middle class, carters, foggers, &c., earn from 12s. to 13s. a week, together with harvest money, and the lowest, the general labourer, a minimum wage of 12s. a week.† The total number of the farmers and labourers together, according to the census of 1891, is 1,336,945, and that of the landowners 1,100,000; the gross

* See *Agricultural Returns of Board of Agriculture*, 1892, pp. 36, 54. These do not include Ireland, the Channel Islands, or the Isle of Man.

† Cf. as to wages, Report of Royal Commission on Labour, vol. i. part i. p. 10; part iii. p. 14; part iv. p. 10; part v. p. 11; part vi. p. 17; and also an article in the July number of this REVIEW, 1892, on "Town and Country," p. 331.

rental of the large proprietors, the aristocracy, titled and untitled, with 1000 acres and over, being £37,000,000; while that of the small rural proprietors, yeomen and gentlemen-farmers, with from 20 to 1000 acres, is £38,000,000; making together a gross rental of £75,000,000, or more than half that of the United Kingdom, which is £131,000,000. The gross income of the United Kingdom is £1,300,000,000, and of this £249,000,000, or more than one-fifth, is derived from agriculture, after the payment of rent by farmers, labourers, and all classes engaged in agricultural pursuits. It must also be remembered that besides providing directly for the maintenance of the agricultural classes, and indirectly for that of all the professional men, tradesmen, and domestic servants who supply their needs, agriculture furnishes the endowments of the bulk of the cathedral establishments and rural benefices of the Church of England, of our universities, public schools, hospitals, and city corporations, and is also the main source of income, in the shape of settlements, rent charges, and mortgages, &c., of numberless private individuals. Lastly, the nation is dependent for about half of its food supply, and in time of war might find itself dependent for the whole of it, on agriculture, and it is therefore evident that the injurious effects of the present condition of this, the oldest and once the sole British industry, may, if it be not improved, extend far beyond those immediately employed in it.

A valuable basis for determining what this condition is, is supplied by an estimate on the subject given by the late Sir James Caird, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, in his evidence before Lord Iddesleigh's Commission on the Depression of Trade in 1886, which was quoted by Mr. Chaplin in his speech at the National Agricultural Conference.* The loss in spendable income—the income left after meeting the usual outgoings—of the landlords on a rental of £65,000,000 was estimated by Sir James Caird as then amounting to £20,000,000, or 30 per cent. of their income; that of the tenants to £20,000,000, or 60 per cent. of their income; and

* See *Times* Report of the Conference, Dec. 8 and 9, 1892; and cf. an article on "Agricultural Depression and its Remedies," in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1893.

that of the labourers to £2,800,000, or 10 per cent. of their income; making a total loss to the agricultural classes of £42,800,000 of their spendable income. The seven years that have elapsed since this estimate was made have been as disastrous to agriculture as the nine or ten which preceded them. During the whole of this period, according to Professor Sheldon,* only one season in four has been even tolerably good for tillage purposes in most parts of the country, and it culminated last year in a season which he describes as one of the worst, so far as prices are concerned, which the farmers of England have ever experienced; but which, owing to the drought, will probably be surpassed in this respect by the present one. In addition to this, during the twenty years 1872-92, the price of wheat per quarter has fallen from 57s. to 30s. 3d., or by 26s. 9d.; that of barley from 37s. 5d. to 26s. 2d., or by 11s. 3d.; and that of oats from 23s. 2d. to 19s. 10d., or by 3s. 4d. Taking the averages during the years 1871-75 and 1886-90, the price of horses has fallen from £33 3s. 6d. to £17 13s. 8d.; that of oxen and bulls from £19 15s. 5d. to £17 18s. 10d.; that of cows from £17 3s. 7d. to £12 11s. 8d.; that of calves from £4 5s. 3d. to £3 17s. 1d.; and that of sheep from £2 1s. 11d. to £1 16s. 7d., that of pigs alone showing a slight increase from £3 4s. 11d. to £3 5s. 2d. Lastly, the price per lb. of wool has fallen from 13d. for Southdown, and 15d. to 17½d. for White Cheviot, in 1871, to 10½d. to 13d. and 11d. to 14d. respectively in 1891.† The extent to which the condition of agriculture has deteriorated since Sir James Caird estimated its losses in 1886 may, however, be best gathered from a statement made by Mr. Lopes in the House of Commons on the 28th of July last, in support of the motion regretting that, in spite of the depression of agriculture, the Government have not thought it their duty to take any action in the matter. He then pointed out that prices have fallen so much, even in the last eight years, that the wheat, barley and oats sold in England and Wales last year fetched £8,000,000 less than in 1885, and that since 1890 the value of live stock had been depreciated by some £70,000,000—statements supported by Mr.

* *The Future of British Agriculture*, pp. 1, 7.

† *Ag. Rep.*, pp. xxiii. 87, 97.

Everett, a Gladstonian, who declared, on the authority of Mr. Little's *Farmer's Almanack*, that the gross value of the agricultural produce of Great Britain is now £35,000,000 a year less than the *mean* value in the years 1865-75.*

Lastly, in addition to their pecuniary losses, the agricultural community are suffering from a decline in numbers which is especially apparent in the labouring class. The Census Reports show that the rate of increase in such of the rural counties of England and Wales as have increased at all in population is far below the general average of the counties near London and the manufacturing counties; and that in no less than fourteen rural counties, ten of which also showed declines in 1881, there has been a positive decrease. The total increase of the rural population during the decennium has been only 28·3 per cent. as against 71·7 per cent. of the urban population; and while the industrial classes have increased from 6,373,367 to 7,336,344, or by 962,977, the working section of the agricultural classes—*i.e.*, the farmers and labourers together—has only increased by 71,464, the number of agricultural labourers having actually decreased from 807,608 to 733,433, or by 74,175.†

2. The causes which, in conjunction with the cycle of bad seasons above described, appear to have been chiefly instrumental in reducing agriculture to this critical condition are foreign competition, high railway rates, the scarcity of gold, and the heavy taxation on land.

Foreign competition, which originated in the establishment of free trade, has been of necessity enormously developed by the rapid growth of our population, and the Returns of the Board of Agriculture furnish some striking illustrations of the corresponding development during the last twenty years of the system of reliance on foreign food, initiated some sixty years ago, when it did not exceed 15,000,000.

Between 1872 and 1892, during which the population of the United Kingdom has increased from 31,556,000 to 38,109,000, the acreage of its cultivated area has only increased from 46,869,000 to 47,978,000. The acreage of

* See *Parliamentary Reports*.

† See Census 1891, *Preliminary Report*, pp. vi.-viii. and vol. iii.; and Census 1881, vol. iii.

corn crops has decreased from 11,698,000 to 9,39,000, and that of wheat crops from 3,840,000 to 2,322,000; and, though the acreage of permanent grass has increased from 22,838,000 to 27,533,000, the number of cattle has only increased from 9,719,000 to 11,519,000, and that of sheep from 32,247,000 to 33,643,000.*

On the other hand, between 1871 and 1891 our imports of live animals—cattle, sheep, and pigs—have risen from 90,500 tons to 171,500 tons; those of dead meat—beef, mutton, bacon, ham, and pork, &c.—from 99,500 tons to 489,500 tons; and those of butter, margarine, and cheese, from 127,500 tons to 270,500 tons. The total value of these three items now amounts to £50,000,000,† while that of our imported wheat, flour, maize and other corn and meal—which have risen respectively from 1,969,500 to 3,315,500 tons; 199,000 to 836,000 tons; 841,000 to 1,341,000 tons; and 1,188,000 to 2,072,000 tons—now exceeds £62,000,000. The value of our imported eggs—which last year numbered 1,275,398,000, and which came from France, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Denmark, Canada, the Canary Islands, Turkey and Egypt—has risen from £1,264,000 to £3,506,000; while the total value of our imported dairy produce, to which we last year added £900,000 worth of condensed milk, has risen from £11,544,000 to £24,360,000.‡

It is needless to enlarge on the injurious effect on the home producer of this growth of our foreign food bill, one of the most curious features of which is the development of the aggregate trade in beef—the traditional food of Old England—imported alive or dead, the value of which has risen from £4,218,000 to £14,270,000.§ It may be noted, however, that one aspect of this part of the question has been recently disclosed by the Report of the Select Committee on Marking of Foreign Meat, which contains some startling evidence as to the misrepresentation practised as to the country of origin of meat by salesmen and dealers, which exists chiefly in the substitution of American chilled beef for English and Scotch. In a large

* *Agricultural Returns*, 1892, p. xxii.

† *Agricultural Returns*, 1892, p. xxvi; and cf. *Report of Select Committee on Marking Foreign Meat*, pp. vi, vii.

‡ *Agricultural Returns*, 1892, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

§ *Ibid.* p. xxiv.

West End establishment, professing to sell nothing but English and Scotch meat, only six sides of Scotch were said to have been sold during a whole year, the rest being American. At another shop, professing to sell only Welsh mutton, all the meat was found to be New Zealand mutton ; while on the other hand River Plate mutton was shown, in certain cases, to be sold as New Zealand. Large quantities of animals imported from abroad and slaughtered in Glasgow were, till recently, dressed in the Scotch fashion and sent to Smithfield to be sold as best Scotch ; while the farmers at Peterborough similarly complain that Deptford-killed beef is brought down to Peterborough, and sold there at the same prices as English.* The Committee draw attention to the widespread feeling existing in the minds of the agricultural community that their interests are being seriously injured by misrepresentations of this kind, which, besides affecting the price of home-grown meat, which is nearly always higher than that of imported meat, have led to the neglect of the country markets. Instead of buying fat stock of farmers in the country as formerly, butchers in the large towns of the North of England now prefer to buy their stock at the lairages at Birkenhead and other ports where foreign cattle are received ; and so strong is the feeling on the subject in that part of the country, that at the last general election resolutions were passed respecting it in almost every town in Lancashire, which were everywhere approved by the candidates to whom they were submitted. The Board of Agriculture have also received resolutions in the same direction from the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, from twenty-four County Councils, and from five farmers' clubs and agricultural associations, and two Bills have this session been introduced in the House of Commons and one in the House of Lords for dealing with the subject.† That the Committee share the views of the agriculturists of the United Kingdom on this question—which of course also closely concerns the

* *Report*, pp. viii-xi.

† *Report*, pp. v, xi. A further complaint is, that while very stringent regulations are applied in dealing with tuberculosis in cattle, involving the loss of one animal in every five in Lancashire, no such regulations are applied to cattle coming from abroad. The purchasers therefore prefer to buy animals landed dead after the removal of the lungs, without which no indication of the existence of the disease can be detected.

consumer—is shown by their recommendations, that dealers in imported meat should be registered, and should affix notices of such registration over their shops; that the inspection of retail butchers' shops should be made, in the same way as under the Food and Drugs Act, by duly qualified inspectors; and, that as the powers conferred upon the Board of Trade by the Merchandise Marks Act, 1891, are insufficiently exercised for the protection of the interests of consumers and producers of food, it should be extended so as to include the Board of Agriculture, which is specially charged with their care.*

The second of the causes of agricultural depression above enumerated—high railway rates—though mainly due to the monopoly of transport enjoyed by the railway companies, has also been largely promoted by the continuously increasing demand for foreign food, which has led the companies to consider the requirements of its importers before those of all other customers. When advocating, in a previous number of this REVIEW, the development of inland navigation as a counterpoise to the railway monopoly, we showed by examples compiled from the trade reports, that the deferential rates charged by the railway companies with respect to English and foreign products of all kinds were in many instances enormously in favour of the latter.† The new classification of rates, issued in pursuance of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, has called forth as strong protests as did the old one, and the agriculturist remains as hampered as before by the undue favour shown by the railway companies to his foreign competitors.

In this respect, indeed, the agricultural community is no worse off than all other classes of traders; and this also holds good with regard to the continuous fall of prices of about 30 or 40 per cent., arising from the steady diminution of the output of gold during the last twenty years, which, though there is a far larger supply of commodities of all kinds available for exchange with it than in 1873, is gradually reducing the metal to the value it had in the earlier part of the century.‡ It is, however, otherwise with the taxation of land,

* Report, p. xviii. † LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for July 1886, pp. 236-7.

‡ Cf. *The Future of British Agriculture*, p. 143, and a very interesting article in the *Economic Review*, July 1893, by Professor Foxwell, on "Bimetallism: its Meaning and Aims."

the burden of which constitutes one of the most serious sources of agricultural depression.

The gross capital value of real property, according to a Treasury Return presented to the House of Commons on the motion of Sir Richard Paget in 1885, is £3,778,437,000, and that of realised personal property £5,632,821,000; but, while the amount of taxes exclusively borne by real property is £8,441,452, that exclusively borne by personal property is £9,716,191, or, in other words, the former pays, in proportion to its value, about 25s. in taxes for every £1 paid by the latter. It is true that, as compared with personality, real property has an advantage in not being subject to probate duty, persons succeeding absolutely to real property not being charged on more than a life interest, while, in the case of other forms of property not under settlement, the death tax is levied upon the whole interest. It must, however, be remembered that a death tax presses more heavily upon realty than upon personality, owing to the difficulty, often amounting to an impossibility, experienced by an inheritor of the former in disposing of a portion of it in order to pay the duties charged on it—a difficulty practically unknown to an inheritor of stocks, funds, or other personality, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, when President of the Board of Trade, stated in the House of Commons in 1888, that "realty, even under the system of charging it to succession duty on life interest, now pays more to Imperial taxation than personality."*

Again, while under every schedule except Schedule A, income tax is assessed under *net* profits, landowners under this schedule have to pay upon their *gross* income irrespective of the annual outlay on their property, and agriculture is thus the only business in the kingdom with regard to which it is not permitted to deduct the working expenses before declaring the *net* profits. In addition to this, if the assessment of land be compared with that of mines and railways, it will be evident that a great injustice is done to the agricultural community by making the improvements of both owner and occupier, and the

* On April 23rd, 1888. Cf. a speech by Mr. Goschen on the same occasion.

increased productiveness of the land arising from them, a ground for an increase of assessment.*

Lastly, it must be remembered that the land tax, which was originated 300 years ago, when land was the chief form of property and agriculture the chief trade, was, as is pointed out by the Inland Revenue Commissioners in their Report for 1885, originally a charge on all invested or permanent property; and also that personal property was liable to contribute to the poor rates until 1840, when an Act was passed (3 & 4 Vict. c. 39) to secure its exemption. All local rates being based on the poor rate, it follows that the great bulk of our local taxation is borne by real property, and the expenses of popular education, which is a national concern, and the maintenance of the roads, which they make less use of than any other portion of the community, fall mainly upon the agricultural community.

3. It will, we think, be evident from this general view of its main features that the crisis through which the agricultural community is passing is of a nature which fairly entitles them to appeal to the State to assist them in their attempts to meet it. Grave as it is, however, and though the remedies advocated for dealing with it do not, with one exception, appear to us likely to prove very beneficial, there still seems good reason to hope that it is nearing its close, and may prove the beginning of a brighter future.

The National Agricultural Conference passed resolutions in favour of bimetallism and of protection as the remedies respectively for the scarcity of gold and for foreign competition.

As regards bimetallism, it is sufficient to say that, whatever its merits, it is an international question on which even the experts of the different nations of the world who advocate it differ considerably, and that until they are more fully agreed it is useless to discuss it as a remedy. As, moreover, the scarcity of gold affects all trades alike, it is a remedy which Parliament cannot be expected to adopt at the sole request of the agricultural community.

This objection also applies still more strongly to protection, the adoption of some modified form of which, such as a sliding

* Cf. as to this the *Quarterly Review* for April, above referred to, p. 535.

scale of duties on imported corn and meat based on a fixed, maximum price for each, sufficiently low to protect the interests of the consumer, is not unreasonably demanded by many who deplore the ousting of home-grown produce from our markets by the increasing flood of foreign imports. The fact, however, that these imports furnish one-half of our food supply, and that with the exception of the agricultural community, the great part of the vast population dependent on them would regard any form of protection as a tax imposed upon them for the benefit of a single class, would seem fatal to any attempt to establish it. In addition to this, the agricultural community is itself divided into two parties on the question, the grass land farmers, who import vast supplies of foreign feeding stuffs for live stock, being as opposed to protection as the great urban populations.*

Though, however, agriculture can expect but little aid from the State with regard to it, there are grounds for anticipating that the stress of foreign competition may before long become far less severe, both on account of the diminishing powers of supply of the countries from which it chiefly emanates, and also through new developments of our own natural resources.

As regards the first point, the most noteworthy fact is the economic condition of our chief competitor, the United States, which in 1890 took £47,000,000, or over one-third of the £150,000,000 we spent on foreign food, but which, it is important to remember, competes not only with Great Britain but with Europe. The farmers of the Eastern States have felt more keenly than we the sharp competition which has sprung out of the virgin soils of the Western States, and farms have been abandoned in tens and hundreds in New England, while they have been abandoned in units here. The proportion both of good and of second-rate land in North America, including Canada and Mexico, is, according to Professor Sheldon, much smaller than in England, and that of the bad land infinitely greater; while in Central America there is a vast desert equal in area to thirty times this country, only a fraction of which can ever be made valuable by means of vast works of irri-

* Cf. *The Future of British Agriculture*, pp. 17, 141, 157.

gation. In short, it would appear that all the land worth having for purposes of cultivation has already been taken possession of, and it has been estimated by a leading statistical expert in America that by the close of this century the population of the United States will have reached 77,000,000, and will need 17,000,000 acres more than will be available at the present rate of increase of cultivation to supply home requirements. In less than twenty years therefore from 10 to 15 per cent. of the people's food will have to be imported into the United States; and as they will naturally obtain this from Canada, which appears destined to become the chief wheat-exporting country, and from Mexico, which is far inferior in natural advantages, there seems every reason to agree with Professor Sheldon, whose opinion is shared by the American expert above quoted, that "American competition in feeding-stuffs has nearly reached the limit of its expansion."* The same factors which are thus affecting America—the growth of population and the diminution of the amount of land available for agriculture—are more or less at work in all the other countries with which our farmers have to compete, and even those in the corn-growing counties, who are by far the greatest sufferers by agricultural depression, have therefore reasonable grounds for anticipating a not distant improvement in their prospects.

With respect to the second point, it must be observed that, during the last quarter of a century, British farming has been subjected to a variety of influences which have considerably altered its main features. Its importance has been recognised by the State, and a Board of Agriculture has been appointed to watch over its interests. It has, thanks chiefly to the great work of Sir John Lawes and his coadjutor at Rothamsted, become far more scientific, and some twenty-nine institutions for giving scientific instruction in the various branches of agriculture have been established, which, in 1890-1, received grants amounting to £4840 † from the Board of Agriculture, while the County Councils have been promoting tuition in

* *The Future of British Agriculture*, pp. 30-36.

† See *Report of the Board on the Distribution of Grants to Agricultural and District Schools*, pp. 5-13.

dairy work through their Technical Education Committees. Steam cultivation and improved implements have rendered agricultural operations more effective, and the world has been ransacked to provide guano, phosphates, and every species of manure for improving the soil. The science of forestry has begun to receive attention. Fruit growing, poultry rearing, and other varieties of *la petite culture* have been recognised as important minor branches of agriculture, and the creation of small holdings has been encouraged for the purpose of promoting them. Lastly, the effects of foreign competition on wheat growing have reversed the old system, under which stock was always subsidiary to grain, and the whole system of cropping led up to the culminating crop of wheat. The agricultural returns for 1892* show that there are 2,101,000 less acres under arable culture, but 3,782,000 more acres of grass area within the cultivated surface of Great Britain than 1872, while there are 500,000 cows more than at that date—an increase nearly as great, proportionately, as that of the population—and 2,000,000 more cattle of all kinds than we had a quarter of a century ago. Farming has become more intensive, that is, a variety of crops specially produced for live stock are grown concurrently with the crops of the old rotations—grass, wheat, roots, barley, or oats—often in the case of sheep farms, throughout the year; and dairy farming, formerly the most neglected, has become the most prominent branch of British agriculture.

Among the various results due to these changes, four seem especially calculated to aid us in our struggle with foreign competition.

The first is the growth of the milk trade, which corresponds in time with the rapid expansion of wheat-raising in the United States, and has proved one of the mainstays of our farmers. It has, however, as Professor Sheldon—though a strong denouncer of railway rates—himself admits (p. 31), only been rendered possible through the co-operation of the railway companies; and its success therefore suggests the inquiry, whether, if other agricultural produce were sent to them in

* *Agricultural Returns*, pp. xii, xviii; and cf. *The Future of British Agriculture*, pp. 11-15, 22-27.

equally large quantities and with the same regularity—instead of, as is often the case, by driblets—the railway companies would not be found only too willing to transmit it at the same low rates as are charged for milk and for foreign produce. The systematic collection and transport of agricultural products is indeed still in its infancy, and there are extensive rural districts surrounded on the outskirts by railways which are too far distant to be of any benefit to any places save those situated immediately on them, and which have thus ruined once flourishing markets within their circle. In such cases, light railways, or agricultural tramways, would certainly seem worthy of a trial.

Again, cheese and butter factories, which have come to us from the United States, where they were first started as early as 1851, have also proved most useful factors in the development of dairy farming, by facilitating the production of large quantities of these articles of a uniform quality, and thus furnishing a regular supply for the urban markets. In these respects they supply a model which might usefully be imitated in other branches of agriculture, in which uniformity of quality and regularity of production is too often the exception. It is said, for instance, that one of the reasons why foreign growers, and especially the Americans, oust us from the fruit markets, is that they grow large quantities of a few specially selected varieties, and thus enable a buyer easily to obtain what he needs from one or two vendors, while in England the number of varieties grown and the small quantities of each render his task infinitely longer and more laborious.

A third and most important result of the new era in agriculture is the application of the principles of co-operation to agriculture, in which, despite her success in other branches of co-operative enterprise, Great Britain appears to be far behind other nations. The Swiss co-operative dairy farms, termed *fruittières*, to which attention was first drawn in England as far back as 1851 in the *Christian Socialist*,* date back to the sixteenth century, and are associations of milk producers, who bring their milk to a common dairy, the property of the members, where it

* January 4, 1851.

is made into cheese, the profits of the sale of which are distributed in proportion to the amount of milk supplied by each associate. The value of the cheese produced by these associations in 1891 amounted to £1,544,555, and their success has led to the establishment in 1888 of co-operative cattle breeding societies, of which there are now seventy-seven in existence.* Fruitières also exist in Savoy, Franche Comté, and other parts of France, in which also another form of co-operation has of late years been started in the shape of "associations for the mutual protection of agricultural interests."† In Denmark, which is perhaps the largest butter-producing country in the world, but in which it is regrettable to learn that the consumption of margarine for home use has in consequence risen from 10,000,000 lbs. in 1889 to 12,000,000 lbs. in 1890, there are no less than 1000 co-operative dairies, the farmers who produce the milk being in nearly all cases also the owners of the dairy buildings and plant. In Sweden, which, despite a climate so severe that cattle have to be stall fed during the greater part of the year, successfully competes in foreign markets, there are 73 co-operative as against 809 "estate," and 610 "buying-up dairies"; and in the German Empire 1020 of the 2673 dairies are co-operative associations worked by farmers.‡ In Great Britain, however, there are only thirty-six registered co-operative societies connected with agriculture, twenty-four of which are dairy societies situated in Ireland, while those in England consist of three dairy societies, one gardening and dairy society, and seven societies for trading in land, agricultural implements and seeds, &c. The oldest of these dairy societies only dates from 1889, while fourteen of the Irish societies were established in 1890, and the remaining nine and the three English ones in 1891;§ but, having regard to the success of those on the Continent, their tardy creation must still be welcomed as a promising new departure in British agriculture.

The same may also be said of the fourth of the new develop-

* *Report on Trade and Agriculture in Switzerland*, pp. 6, 8.

† *Report on Poultry Yards and Dairy Farming in France*, pp. 7, 10.

‡ *Board of Agriculture: Report on Dairy Farming in Denmark, Sweden, and Germany*, pp. 9, 22, 23, 30, 47.

§ *Report of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies*, 1891, Part B, Appendix.

ments above mentioned—the experiments in profit-sharing made by landlords, such as Lord Wantage in Berkshire, Mr. Vandeleur at Ralahine, co. Clare, Mr. Boyd Kinnear and Mr. Albert Grey at East Learmouth, in Northumberland. That they promise well for the future may be judged from the following account of five years' experiences on Mr. Grey's estate of 821 acres, 122 of which are permanent pasture and the rest arable, during the trying period from 1886 to 1891 :

"The rent of £1431, and interest on capital at the rate of 4 per cent., have been paid with unfailing regularity; £163 5s. 11d. has been given in bonuses to the employés on the farm; £148 2s. 7d. has been paid as additional interest on capital; and a reserve fund has been formed, which at the present time amounts to £182 8s. 4½d. . . . I have increased my income. I enjoy the rights of proprietorship far more fully than I should if the farm were leased to a tenant, and I feel secure against any possibilities which future legislation, based upon the lines of the Irish Land Acts, may have in store for English landowners."*

It is evident from the above extract that the beneficial effects of profit-sharing are not confined only to the practical business of agriculture. The demands made by a section of the tenant farmers for "fair rent," "free sale of improvements," and "fixity of tenure"—demands which apparently ignore alike the outlay of the landlord on farm buildings and repairs, the profit derived by the tenant during his occupancy from both his and the landlord's improvements, and the new liabilities on both heads, which he will incur by fixity of tenure—seem to make Mr. Grey's experience well worthy the attention of his fellow-landlords. We may also commend to their notice a fact, disclosed by the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour—namely, that an increase of better cottage accommodation, and the provision of a few more resources for healthy recreation—might go far to check the exodus of the agricultural labourer from the villages, since his condition has not only enormously improved, both materially and morally, during the

* *Report of Royal Commission on Labour*, vol. i. part iii. pp. 10, 11. Cf. a letter by Mr. Boyd Kinnear in the *Agricultural Gazette*, Nov. 30, 1891, and a paper by Mr. Albert Grey in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, vol. ii., third series, part iv.; also speeches by Mr. Balfour at Huddersfield, Nov. 30, 1891, and Mr. Gladstone at Wirral, Nov. 28, 1891. Lord Wantage described his experiences in an article in the *Economic Review* for Jan. 1893, entitled "A few Theories carried into Practice."

last twenty years, but is also in some points superior to that of the dwellers in the towns.* It was the landlords who first set the example of abandoning rural for urban life, and they would enormously assist in checking its evil effects if they were to make their country houses their homes instead of using them as mere shooting-boxes, and to endeavour to enter into the interests and pursuits and to improve the lives of their less wealthy neighbours. There is plenty of scope for the work of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House in the country as well as the town. Lastly, since the close of the last century the once subordinate industrial element has controlled the Legislature to the detriment of the agricultural element, and now threatens to "municipalise" rural life out of existence if the classes most concerned in preserving it, of whom the county gentry are the natural leaders, do not unite to arrest the process. It is only by the hearty co-operation of the landowners of all classes, from the peer to the "small holder," that a party can be formed strong enough to obtain from Parliament an alleviation from the excessive taxation imposed upon the agricultural for the benefit of the industrial community. This, in our opinion, is at present the only remedy for agricultural depression which can be procured through the Legislature, but it is one which, in conjunction with the new forces which have been shown to be at work, can hardly fail enormously to improve the condition and the prospects of British agriculture.

ART. IX.—AN ENGLISH ULTRAMONTANE PHILOSOPHER.

William George Ward and the Catholic Revival. By WILFRID WARD, author of *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement.* Macmillan & Co. 1893.

JUST four years ago we reviewed in this journal Mr. Ward's former volume, in which he dealt with the earlier years of his father's life, and in particular with his father's part in the

* Report, vol. i. part i. p. 13; part iii. pp. 24-26; part iv. p. 21; part v p. 20; part vi. p. 33.

"Oxford Movement." The volume closed with the reception of W. G. Ward into the Roman Catholic Communion. The present volume takes up the biographical story where the first volume left it, and thenceforward opens out to view phase after phase of the "Catholic Revival," not only as it has taken form in England, but as it has developed on the Continent, using the course of Dr. Ward's life as the line of movement from which successive views are given of the whole course and field of modern Romanist advance.

Of the remarkable ability—the knowledge, insight, and power of exposition—and the yet more remarkable impartiality of Mr. Ward's former volume we gave our judgment in the article to which we have referred. Written by the Roman Catholic son of a fanatical convert to Popery, a son trained in Rome at a Roman Catholic College—having for its subject his ultra-Papist father, dealing with every phase of his father's early life, and his relations with such various men and matters as Mill and his utilitarian philosophy, Arnold and his historical Protestantism, Newman and his whole Oxford life and course—we expressed our admiration for the capacity, the wide and accurate knowledge, the singular impartiality, the sympathetically judicial spirit, the complete masterliness, of the biography. Our admiration, we have now to say after reading this second volume, is even greater than it was when we laid down the first. Indeed, we are at a loss to understand how one whose course of professional life has been so aloof from the various play of Protestant and interdenominational activities in England, of University interest and intercourse, of secular and social sensations and excitements, as that of the author of this biography, must have been able to write with the perfect knowledge and the universal sympathetic insight we find everywhere in this volume.

If the first volume was exceedingly interesting and valuable, the second appears to us scarcely less so, though in a different way. The first greatly helped towards completing our knowledge of the Oxford movement, and our understanding of the character and ascendancy of its chief leader, who sat at the centre, and, when he ceased to guide by articulate counsel, did not cease to influence those who had been of his intimate

companionship. But the second volume introduces us to spheres hitherto almost utterly unknown, even to cultivated Englishmen, although some have had a dim inkling of movements that might be going on there, coupled with a profound and curious interest in what, to nearly all people, were regions of mystery. Led by Mr. Ward, with his perfect English information and insight, and at the same time his familiar knowledge both of English and Continental Romanism, to the inner history of which he seems to have command of all the keys, we are introduced, in succession, to a range of views of extraordinary attractiveness. The first scenes are in England. From the quiet, secluded, unambitious, unintellectual, old-fashioned English Catholicism of St. Edmund's College, Ware —where the inmates, and the families which frequented and sustained the College, and the colony with which it was connected, are described as a *gens lucifuga*, the steps are traced by which the régime of Bishop Challoner and Bishop Griffiths, under whose sway the comparatively mild Roman Catholic principles of Alban Butler formed the recognised standard of English orthodoxy, passed into the much loftier dispensation of Cardinal Wiseman, with which was associated the revival in England of the organised Roman Catholic hierarchy and the corresponding "Papal claims," and afterwards with the yet more fully developed Catholicism, so speciously and seductively presented, so cleverly economised, so winningly and effectively administered by Cardinal Manning. At a later point in the volume, the origin and progress of the great "Catholic Revival," which, during the larger part of the century now closing, has been developing on the Continent, are unfolded, from the first faint stirrings and timid movements during the period of the great Napoleon onward, from point to point, till now, when that revival has taken a wide and powerful hold of Continental Catholicism, especially in the Rhine Provinces of Germany, and still more in France, in which country Romanism was never so livingly organised or so spiritually powerful as it is to-day. These are matters which, known more or less to careful and candid inquirers and students for twenty years past, have now in this authentic volume found, for the first time, in outline, an orderly and historical record in our own language. It is of the

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utmost importance that the truth as to such matters should be understood by evangelical Protestants ; who should always remember that one part of the power of the "Catholic Revival," as well as of the Anglican Revival, results from the fact that evangelical truths have, so to speak, filtered through from the Reformed Churches into the old hierarchical communities, and especially that the attitude of Romanism in regard to the Bible has, however slowly and with whatever caution and reluctance, to a considerable extent been modified, so that Bible reading and preaching from the Scriptures prevail among Roman Catholic communities much more widely than many Protestants suppose. In the social and civil commerce, direct and indirect, of the nations and of the various Churches, there is more of occult mutual sympathy, more of mutual influence, more share in common tendencies and movements, for good as well as for evil, than is generally recognised. The Bible Society, also, it must never be forgotten, has been perpetually, and over the whole breadth of the Continent, for fifty years past, but especially in Germany and France, diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures among Catholic as well as Protestant populations.

Another little-known region into which, following the line of his father's history, Mr. Ward introduces his readers, is the Metaphysical Society of London, a society founded in 1861 by Mr. James Knowles, afterwards and at present editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, and which Mr. Ward describes as "an attempt to form a microcosm of the English intellectual world," a society where the representatives of all forms and fashions of speculative thought met on the ground of frank and friendly discussion, including such opposites as Dr. Ward and Mill, Stirling and Huxley, and of which society Dr. Ward at one time was President. The chapter on the "Metaphysical Society" is one of the freshest and most interesting in the book, and is fitly followed by one on "The Agnostic Controversy," in which the course of the very important controversy between Dr. Ward and Mill is described.

On these wide and momentous subjects, however, we shall not be able to say much in this article. The personality and experiences of W. G. Ward himself are of profound and unique interest. He was a man altogether apart from other

men, and combined in himself seeming contradictions. We do not think that his critics—so far as we know, even his best-informed critics—have succeeded in bringing out to view the peculiarities of Dr. Ward, as faithfully but modestly and gently indicated in his son's biography, or of exhibiting, as a living whole, a character which in its special combination of strong qualities and of weaknesses, of virtues and faults, is without a parallel. In our former article we tried, from the materials afforded by the first volume of the biography, so far as these were available, to make a sketch of the man himself. The present volume, however, gives much fuller information, and while confirming all that we said before, will enable us to give a larger and more life-like portrait of William George Ward, as he fulfilled his course during the last forty years of his life. To do this will be our chief aim in the present article.

It may seem strange to describe as a fanatic a man who could meet in frank social and intellectual intercourse men of all schools of thought, including agnostics and unbelievers, one who, being a Catholic, even corresponded on friendly terms with Mill and Bain, one who for a time was President of the Metaphysical Society. Yet a fanatic he was, albeit a personally tolerant fanatic, and, without bearing this in mind, it is impossible to understand his conduct or his course, his private habits or his controversial life. He was a Papal fanatic, with all the one-sided zeal and enthusiasm of a pervert and a neophyte, who has only looked on one side of the field of a great controversy. We may even add, viewing the controversy in its whole breadth and complexity, that he was a fanatic because in regard to a great part of what is regarded as general culture he was either altogether ignorant or was but at best a man of very shallow knowledge or information. This was shown in his attitude in the Infallibility controversy, in which he took the most extreme position possible, such as it would have been thought only an ignorant monkish devotee or a Spanish bigot could have taken up. He was intoxicated with the doctrine of Papal infallibility, and enamoured of Papal Bulls and decrees, so that he said, of course more or less jocosely, but yet as conveying an intimation of his serious views, that he should

enjoy his breakfast the more, if morning by morning he had a fresh Bull always laid on the table.* This spirit linked him with Veuillot in opposition to Dupanloup, and produced a long estrangement from Newman. No man with a scholarly tincture of historical knowledge, with anything of the spirit of historical criticism, could possibly have taken up such an extreme position. Speaking of the difference between Newman and Ward, Mr. Wilfred Ward says: "He (Newman) could not forget the human elements which affected policy, though they could not touch the essence of doctrine. Saints have been called on to rebuke Popes, though Popes can define doctrine infallibly and Saints cannot. Ward's sanguine trust appeared to be based on an ideal of guidance from on high, which, however desirable, had not been in fact vouchsafed" (p. 282).† That is to say, Ward dwelt in the world of abstractions, uninstructed by the realities of history. We have in this a special illustration of the ill-balanced character of his mind. Of history—as was noticed in our article on the former volume of this biography—he knew nothing and did not care to know anything; for what was concrete he had no faculty. Of the limitation of his knowledge and faculties again, as to concrete facts, a curious illustration is given in this volume. Father Vaughan, now Cardinal Vaughan, was visiting Mr. Ward at Old Hall, where Ward lived, being at the time Professor at St. Edmund's Catholic College. It was Father Vaughan's first visit to Ward. "What fine beech-trees," Father Vaughan remarks, as they turned into an avenue. The reply to this not very pregnant observation startled him. "Wonderful man," exclaimed Mr. Ward. His visitor waited for an explanation. "What a many-sided man you are," pursued Ward; "I knew that you were a dogmatic theologian and an ascetic theologian; and now I find that you

* His words were "I should like a new Papal Bull every morning with my *Times* at breakfast" (p. 14).

† In another place the biographer says: "Ward's attitude was far simpler (than Newman's). The narrow field in which his intellect moved so actively did not include many of the problems which perplexed Newman, and thus while the latter had very much to consider before he could interpret the decrees to his satisfaction, the former applied them without difficulty in their simplest and most obvious sense, and rejoiced in them as fresh light without any shadow."

are acquainted with all the *minutiae of botany*." The Vice-President (Father Vaughan) was thoroughly puzzled; and "it took him some little time to realise that to his new acquaintance the difference between a beech and an oak was one of those mysterious truths which, although undoubted, nevertheless brought home to him painfully and sadly the limitation of his faculties" (p. 48).

Ward certainly was not a "many-sided man"; his intellect seems to have been developed only on one side. He may almost be said to have been intellectually a monster; his faculties for abstract thought were abnormally developed, while nearly all his other powers were undeveloped. Except his musical faculty, and his taste for fiction and for burlesque and spectacular plays—not for the Shakspearian, the historical, or in any sense the classical drama—all else on the intellectual side of his nature seems to have been strangely stunted. He was like some misshapen men, a combination of giant and dwarf, half Hercules, half cripple. That this arose in some measure from his own obstinate wilfulness from childhood upwards, rather than from any natural incapacity, leaves the actual result the same.

Hence his rapid and natural passage into Popery, so direct and decisive, and in such contrast with that of Newman, who, though weak, as, indeed, he himself confessed, in his historical grasp and range, was vastly better informed than Ward, and possessed a faculty of historical imagination, which, though not duly disciplined or informed, and consequently predisposed to illusion, was yet vivid and powerful. Ward's faith in Popery was founded on abstract argument, and had no respect whatever for any facts of history, either ancient or modern. Having, by metaphysical and logical reasoning, established the existence of God and Divine Providence, he deduced thence the principles of Divine Revelation, Divine Redemption, Divine Guidance for God's people, one Divine Saviour, one Holy Church, infallibly taught and led, and one human Head of the Church, representing its Divine-Human Head, and infallibly guided into all spiritual truth as such guidance came to be needed. Given the Godhead, the Papal infallibility followed for Ward by logical and necessary sequence. His one funda-

mental, and his only grand, controversy was the theistic controversy. This, with its necessary metaphysical correlates, among which the law of causation and the question of the liberty of the will held a central place, was the great argument of his life. Here he felt that he could hold his ground against whatever adversaries. He had fought and conquered his own doubts, and he found nothing really and radically new in the doubts of others. He enjoyed this conflict, because the more victories he won over others the more he strengthened his own position. His own doubts were publicly slain when he overthrew such antagonists as Bain or Mill, and a wide audience "assisted" as witnesses at their overthrow. These were "foemen worthy of his steel." He understood and respected their doubts and demurs; the like doubts had at one or other time arrested him. To prove himself more than a match for the greatest champions that represented the enemy's side in his own internal conflicts was to gain attestation to the reality of his victories over the temptations which had darkened his own spirit. He thus kept himself in heart, and fortified his own faith and confidence, in that which to him was the one point in question; he secured his hold on the one premiss, on which, in his view, the whole argument on behalf of the Christian faith hinged. Nor did it distress him, or ruffle his pleasant and almost cordial relations with his antagonists, that they were defending the citadel of infidelity, from which all moral evil and eternal misery naturally flowed. He made great use, for the purpose of charitable hope, of the allowance made by the Roman Catholic theologians for "invincible ignorance," especially in the case of men whom he regarded, though misguided, as honourable and sincere; and, through his refutation of them, he trusted that the writings of these leaders of unbelief would prove greatly helpful to the final victory of Divine truth.

An amusing instance is given, which we may enliven our pages by quoting, of the manner in which he would humorously fall back on the plea of "invincible ignorance" on behalf of his friends—in the instance now to be given, not of an unbelieving, but of an Anglican friend.

"I need not say," says Dean Goulburn, in a paper of

reminiscences, "that all the walks I had with him became, if they did not start by being, argumentative. Argument was to him what whist is to many—one of his most favourite pastimes. . . . Once, when I had expressed surprise to him that seriously-minded Roman Catholics could, in view of the dogma *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, have any comfort or happiness in thinking of their Protestant friends, he expounded to me the theory of 'invincible ignorance,' as excusing a large amount of heresy, and placing heretics who have erred under its influence, within the pale of salvation. 'And I am quite sure, my dear Goulburn,' he added, with the greatest earnestness and emphasis, 'that your ignorance is *most* invincible'" (p. 77).

A direct consequence of the peculiarity in his intellectual character of which we have been speaking was that his faith in Christianity seemed to have derived little or no support or brightness, and his soul no conscious comfort, from the sense of life and reality, from the felt "grace and truth," which evangelical and experimental Christians, who are also close and loving students of Scripture, derive from their Bible readings, and especially from the study of our Lord's life in the Gospels. To not a few Christians the revelation of Jesus Christ contained in the Scriptures is itself the most living and convincing evidence of the truth and reality of the Gospel Revelation. There is not a trace, not a hint, throughout the two volumes of Ward's life of any such use or comfort of the Scriptures in the case of Dr. Ward. His faith in Christ seems to have rested solely on high *a priori* grounds. He held it fast most firmly when he was full of the sense and force of abstract argument. But, if he ceased to feel the argumentative compulsion, his faith suffered, or was tending to suffer, occultation. Anything like the quiet enjoyment of the sense of the Divine reality of the Gospel history, as history, as history of transcendent self-evidencing power, as history so full of divine light, and power, and consolation, that out of its fulness, as from the fulness of the Incarnate Word Himself, believing students believe themselves to be receiving into their souls both truth and grace, any such enjoyment as this appears to have been a thing unknown to Dr. Ward. His religion was nothing if not

strenuous ; his faith faltered when it ceased to be argumentative and more or less combatant. The views which this volume affords of his peculiarities, and his daily course of life and working, illustrate and confirm the account of his character we have now been giving, as will be seen from the selection of extracts which we are about to cite, all taken from one chapter —that on his “ Closing Years.”

Tennyson was Ward’s next neighbour in the Isle of Wight, where his large landed property was situated, and where, at Weston Manor, he chiefly resided during the later years of his life. His biographer points some of the contrasts between the two men :

“ Tennyson’s love of trees, and his love of all Nature, were a part of the intensely sensitive perceptions and concrete mind of the poet, in marked contrast to Ward’s imperfect observation of the concrete and love of the abstract and mathematical. . . . Minute beauty did not appeal to him, because he could not perceive it at all. He could not distinguish one tree or flower from another. A bird was an object of vaguest knowledge to him. It was primarily a thing which made a noise, and kept him awake. Trees shut out the fresh air, shut out the grand views which he loved, however little he marked their details ” (pp. 396–397).

“ His daily routine was precise and methodical. Rising at half-past six, he went to chapel at seven for meditation or mass. The number of his meditation books, and the numerous pencil references in them, show how systematic a work this was with him. He breakfasted at eight in his study, reading at the same time the evening paper of the previous day. He went to chapel again at nine. Then he read and answered his letters—nearly always answering by return of post. Then came the serious work of the day—the philosophical essay on which he was engaged, or the address to the Metaphysical Society, or the theological controversy, or the reading necessary for any of these works. The other fixed items in his programme were a walk and a solitary luncheon in his study at one o’clock, a drive at two, and then another walk. He generally came to the drawing-room for five o’clock tea, and dined with his family at half-past seven.” . . .

“ After a year spent at the Gregorian University in Rome (in 1878) I arrive in the afternoon, and the message comes that I am to go into his study at 4.30. I appear, as I think, at the appointed time, and, after cordial greetings, he points to the clock and observes that I am two whole minutes late. The talk with me is to last a quarter of an hour. He is using his dumb-bells, wh. have taken the place of the riding of a former date. He does not pause in his gymnastic exercises, but begins at once a conversation about Rome.

The professors at the Collegio Romano are discussed. The length of the course & the nature of the work are elicited with great rapidity. . . .

"The quarter of an hour is passed before the subject has been pursued far; the dumb-bells are put down, and he returns to his study table, on which lie in order five books, each with a marker in it. One of them is Father Kleutgen's work, *La Philosophie Scolastique*; another, a volume of Newman's Parochial Sermons; a third, Planché's *Reminiscences*; a fourth, *Barchester Towers*; the fifth, Sardou's comedy, *Les Vieux Garçons*. 'My working powers are getting so uncertain,' he explains, as he takes up Planché's *Reminiscences*, 'that I find I have five different states of head, and I keep a book for each. Kleutgen is for my best hours in the morning, Newman comes next, then Planché, and then Trollope; and, when my head is good for nothing, I read a French play. . . .'

"We meet at a punctual half-past seven dinner. 'When you left me,' he begins, 'I read a great deal of Planché. Some of the anecdotes are delightful. One of the "supers" in Macready's time at Covent Garden, who used to speak Shakspeare's lines without understanding a word of them, had, as Ratcliff in *Richard III.* to give the answer:

'My lord; 'tis I. The early village cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn.'

He gave with immense emphasis the first line only. Even an English audience laughed outright at the effect of the response to the words, 'Who's there?':

'My lord, 'tis I, the early village cock.'

"Dinner can scarcely pass without some reference to Oxford and Newman—a subject which ever arouses deep feeling. 'Was there ever anything in the world like Newman's influence on us?' he repeats for the hundredth time. And the scene at Littlemore during the farewell sermon on the 'Parting Friends,' often described before, is told with even fresh pathos. . . .

"After dinner he retires early to his study, and a message, half an hour later, summons me for further conversation. I find him in high good humour, buried in a French play, the third he has read in the course of the day. 'This is a delightful play,' he explains; 'truly French. The height of romance and self-devotion, as long as it can be combined with breaking a large proportion of the Ten Commandments.' . . .

"He points to a large cupboard full of French plays. 'I read these things so fast now,' he explains, 'that I sometimes get through six in an evening—being fit for nothing better—that is, I read as much as I want to, and master the plot. I therefore wrote to Stewart to send me every French play that has ever been written. I am leaving them to you in my will.'

"The rest of the conversation is on things dramatic. The autumn opera season, and the prospect of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft moving from the Prince of Wales Theatre to the Haymarket especially interest him" (pp. 382-7).

The foregoing extracts, nearly all taken from an account which occupies several pages, of the son's intercourse with the father, during one day, give a lively picture of some of Ward's peculiarities, and especially his mania for the sensational drama, and in particular for French plays, notwithstanding their impiety and nastiness. His son, however, informs us that he did not inherit the legacy of French plays which his father had led him to expect. The vast collection was kept until within a year of Dr. Ward's death, when he resolved to burn them. To complete the view of Ward's character, we must add some other extracts :

"No picture of Mr. Ward at this time would give him 'in his habit as he lived' without reference to two phases of his thought and conversation which were at opposite poles—the one his deep sense of the melancholy aspect of life, the other the relief he found in talking elaborate and fantastic nonsense. His sense of the amount of unhappiness in the world was constant ; and, although his faith and religious habits became, he said, more and more supporting as life went on, he never got rid of the habitual trial to which he was subject from the thought of the more terrible side of religion, and the difficulties which beset 'the probation of many of our fellow-creatures'

"The strain of an overwrought mind would bring a reaction, and he used sometimes to take refuge in talking utter nonsense for an hour at a time. It was often brought forth, however, with the deepest mock seriousness. Nonsense was talked with such intense gravity and such elaborate logical sequence that a stranger would think he must have missed the drift of his words."

The biographer proceeds to give some examples of his father's nonsense—the most laboured, cold-blooded, and extraordinary nonsense ever heard, we cannot but believe, from the lips of a sane philosopher—or, indeed, a sober sensible man of any kind. One trick of wearisome absurdity centred round the name of a Mrs. Bright, of Trentham, and was, with minor variations, repeated again and again. He had been to Stoke, to see his daughter there, at the Dominican Convent, and in reference to this journey engaged in some interesting discussions as to the monastic system with Father Dalgairns.

Diverging, in grave continuity of observation, from this subject, he went on to say that "the most remarkable thing about the village of Trentham is that it is *not* the birthplace of Jeremy Bentham." The company protested against such nonsense; but he proceeded: "You don't believe me. I assure you it is so. I made inquiries, and there is no doubt whatever about it." Further protests were useless; and he went on with his unaccountable fooling, which was as devoid of humour or amusingness as of reasonableness or any sort of meaning. "I found out more than this," he continued, and went on to say that "a dear old landlady, a Mrs. Bright," with whom he was staying at a pretty old-fashioned inn, and who was some eighty years old, and knew all the local history, had told him that her inn had originally been a private house; and there seemed to him to be no doubt that that was the identical house in which Bentham was *not* born; adding that he believed his room was the very room—though that point was uncertain, as it rested only on a "vague tradition." And so for half an hour he held on his way. This particular joke frequently came up again, suddenly reappearing in a new form. After nearly a year's interval, however, during which his family had heard nothing of it, and had begun to hope they would not hear it again, he asked one day, "Where do you think I went last week?" His son looked up, expecting to hear of some new opera. But the answer came, "To see our old friend, Mrs. Bright." His son had forgotten the name and what belonged to it. "Don't you remember?" said Mr. Ward. "At Trentham." Vainly his family tried to Burke the story. Ward went on with his nonsense. "Yes, but you don't know what a curious visit it was. By a most singular coincidence I was there on the 26th of July. Now the 26th of July is the anniversary of the very day on which Jeremy Bentham wasn't born." After further vain remonstrance, he proceeded with a touch of sad seriousness: "The world does not forget as easily as one is apt to think. Jeremy Bentham was a great man. You have no idea of the number of people, and the *kind* of people, who didn't come in honour of the occasion. The Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Dean of Westminster, and a considerable number of minor

clergy—I dare say upwards of a hundred—didn't come. It was very remarkable."

We confess we do not know what to make of this elaborate and empty nonsense-making, which cannot be construed into satire, and has in it no real touch of fun or humour, although its continuous solemnity of unaccountable absurdity did at length, in some cases, provoke laughter from strangers. To his family such exhibitions were a painful annoyance, and they would not laugh that they might not encourage him in his eccentric habit. The habit, however, seems to have become a characteristic of his free family intercourse in his later life; and is a feature which his filial biographer thought it necessary to describe at length, and which cannot properly be omitted in a picture of him as he was. That he ever indulged in such fooling when he visited, as he not seldom did, his great neighbour Tennyson, who wrote for him a noble epitaph in a few striking lines, would seem to be impossible.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward, as we have seen, explains this peculiarity as a reaction from the strain of an overwrought mind, and after giving nearly two pages to an account of it, he recurs very soon to the same subject of his pessimism and his melancholy, in connection with some reminiscences furnished by Father Haythornthwaite, Dr. Ward's chaplain. After a dinner-party, the chaplain relates, at which he had been the life of the company, Ward would be found in his study in a state of brooding melancholy, or even in tears. "Pessimistic views and the remembrance of death coloured all his thought. 'I don't think,' he said, 'the thought of death is absent from my mind for five minutes in the day.' Truly," continues Father Haythornthwaite, "the saving uses of Christianity were never so apparent as they were in his case. The sense of God's presence in which he lived and the graveness of his under-life, made all life a serious and a deeply interesting business."

Surely this life, so revealed to us, in all its phases and with contrasts so violent, is a unique mystery. Reading the last passages we have quoted, we feel them to jar strangely as we think of the French plays, and of other matters in this biography. During part of the year he was accustomed for many years to exchange his Isle of Wight home at Freshwater for Hampstead. Of all the advantages and delights of Hamp-

stead—beyond its salubrity, beyond the society of such men as R. H. Hutton, beyond everything else—"above all," he rated this one advantage, that he "could go every night to the play or opera." This, however, he regarded as necessary to his health. To his sons he wrote, in 1879, "The Haymarket is the region whence salvation cometh. Hampstead is only the *sine quid non*. Long live Captain Armit; of whom, however, you have probably never heard." In a foot-note his son explains that Captain Armit, was "one of the *dramatis personæ* of some play."

An amusing story which his son tells in his account of the familiar intercourse between Ward and Father F. W. Faber, the poet (known also as Dr. Faber, as he received the diploma of Doctor in Philosophy from Pio Nono at the same time as Mr. Ward), illustrates rather vividly the peculiarities of Ward on the side to which we have been referring. The anecdote relates to the period when, having lately left St. Edmund's College, he was often at the Oratory in London, in the company of his spiritual director, Father Faber, and the other Fathers of the Oratory. It was in 1858, or thereabouts. A discussion was in full course between Ward and Faber on Grace and Predestination, Faber taking the Thomist view, Ward supporting the less rigorous opinion of Alfonso Liguori. "Definitions, citations from the great scholastics, are quoted with the exact memory and knowledge of men whose lives are absorbed in the study of such authorities." Ward, in particular, is in a white heat, swaying to and fro as he argues with intense earnestness. In the violence of his bodily movements, a pamphlet falls from his pocket. One of the Fathers present picks it up, and, mechanically opening it, instead of the title *De Actibus Humanis*, or some such title, is startled to read, "Benefit of Mr. Buckstone. The celebrated comedian will appear in his original character of Box, in *Box and Cox*," and so forth. The argument goes on, but the audience becomes distracted. The playbill, after having circulated, finds its way back to its owner. "Ward drops the discussion and joins in the laughter. *Risu tabulae solvuntur.*"

Faber, whose saintliness no one who is familiar with his life and writings, especially his hymns, will dispute, was Ward's "Spiritual Director" for a good many years after this time.

He was sympathetic and indulgent in his treatment of Ward. Nothing can be more unlike the "sobriety" of the Anglican Church, as characterised by Keble, than the ecstasies and spiritual excitement of the Roman Catholic Church. Faber and Ward, we are told, "seldom met without some electric shock occurring in the course of conversation." "Shall I go into retreat?" Ward asked one day, when he felt that the absorbing interest of his intellectual work needed some counteracting spiritual influence. "A retreat!" exclaimed Faber. "It would be enough to send you to hell. Go to the play as often as you can, but don't dream of a retreat." So it was. Ward was always at an intense strain, but could not endure any considerable interval of religious solitude and meditation. He gave two or three brief spaces in a day to a sort of ordered, half-mechanical, half-active meditative exercise on religion; but natural, unrestrained, peaceful, and happy spiritual converse with God and divine things was no part of his religious life. When strenuous religious work, by way of argument of high and intense text-book meditation, mass, or other ritual, or of prescribed activities of teaching or of charitable works, did not occupy him, he had no peace, and his escape from collapse or pessimistic misery was found in the theatre, or in fiction, especially French plays.

Of literary culture, of the enjoyment of general reading, Ward seems to have known very little. He "dearly loved a parson," we are told, and liked very much to have a "rector" next to him at dinner. Perhaps, on that account, he seems to have appreciated Trollope's novels. But *Barchester Towers* and "Trollope" are the only words in the volume which remind us of general literature. Walter Scott is never referred to. For poetry Ward professed as complete a distaste as for history. Tennyson was his next neighbour in the Isle of Wight, and was his friend, but he seems not to have read any of his poetry. *In Memoriam* he declared himself unable to understand. Throughout all his writings we catch not the most distant or general allusion to the "world of letters"—to general literature, or any favourite authors belonging to that world. The region of abstractions—the world of abstract thought—was his home. If he left it, it was for the strangely contrasted world of comic or sensational or musical dramatic

entertainments. Such was the man ; and his character and life afford a unique study ; he was altogether *sui generis*—a specimen apart. Yet he was a profound reasoner ; he has rendered signal service to his generation ; he was the friend of R. H. Hutton ; the friendly correspondent, as well as redoubtable antagonist, of Mill ; the champion of Theism, free-will, the spiritual world ; the intimate friend of the saintly Faber ; the valued co-worker of three great Catholic Signori—Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan.

The way in which—notwithstanding his singularities, and his disadvantages as “a convert and a married man,” he surmounted prejudice and opposition at St. Edmund’s College, where he was first Professor of Philosophy, and afterwards Teacher of Theology, is exceedingly remarkable. From his intense earnestness, and from his spirit and special aims as a teacher, evangelical professors and teachers may have something to learn. Father Lescher, of Notting Hill, who was one of his pupils, describes his lecturing in some striking paragraphs, part of which we must quote :

“ What chiefly gained our hearts was his wonderful earnestness. He carried us away with him, and often we came out of his lecture, as if we had been to a retreat sermon. . . . His great love of the poor also, and his extreme desire that we should carry to them the real substantial food of the Gospel, of doctrinal truth, won the love of all of us. He got quite moved to tears, whilst, with uplifted face to heaven, he dwelt on their unfair position ; the beautiful truths of the Church often unknown to them, and nothing to gratify their propensities but sin.

“ Coming from his lectures was like coming from the lectures of St. Thomas, whose heart burned with what he taught. I shall never forget the way in which he brought before us strongly the presence of God amongst us, and the ingratitude of forgetting One who, though our greatest benefactor, stood like a forgotten friend in a corner of the room. It was like an electric shock . . . ” (pp. 36–7).

We must add a few sentences taken from his final address to his students, when he resigned his Professorship and left St. Edmund’s College, where, as a married layman and a convert from Protestantism, his position had never been quite easy and congenial, although he was throughout sustained by the warm support of Father (now Cardinal) Vaughan and of Cardinal Wiseman.

“ For what purpose,” he asked, “ has God revealed those great

truths which we contemplate in theological studies, whether those which concern Himself directly, or those which relate to his operations in the souls of men? For what purpose, except that we may spiritually grow on such truths—that we might be more and more conformed to the likeness of that God, of that crucified Saviour, whom Theology places before us? . . . May God ever protect you from an increased zeal for intellectual activity, which shall not be accompanied, in at least a corresponding degree, by an increased love of the interior life, by an increased yearning for those only true joys which the Holy Ghost reserves for those who abandon to Him their whole hearts! May God ever protect you from seeking any part of your rest and peace in the empty, delusive, and most unspiritual pleasures of mere intellectual excitement . . . Who am I, and of what kind is my daily life, that I should dare so to speak? . . . Willingly, willingly, would I have been silent, but that I have been stung with the remembrance of those great principles which I have just been stating. Had I succeeded in obtaining your deep interest in a purely intellectual view of that great science committed to my charge, I should have been your worst enemy. I should have been preparing the way for the greatest calamity, which under ordinary circumstances can hereafter befall you—I mean the habit of *effusio ad externa*, of being carried away by the excitement of present work from the heart's deep and tranquil anchorage in God" (pp. 54-5).

On Ward's retirement from St. Edmund's College (in 1858), he began to visit London more frequently than he had done, and he renewed a number of old friendships. He was, as we have noted, much at the Oratory, and in the company of Father Faber. It was at this period also that he resorted, for the sake of his health, to that form and method of riding exercise which Dean Goulburn has so amusingly described in an account from which paragraphs have appeared in journals of all sorts. Nothing can be more grotesque or ludicrous than the picture given of his six horses, each hired to trot under him ten minutes at a time, and each of which was well tired with the work, so heavy and so unwieldy was the passive body that bumped upon the saddle during the successive periods, till the full hour of exercise was accomplished in the riding school, to which place a theological work was latterly brought him to read "between the acts," while he rested and the horses were changed.

But his energies could not be satisfied merely by society and devotional duties, intermingled with doctrinal discussions. "Coming fresh upon the world from the absolute seclusion in

which he had lived for fourteen years, Mr. Ward was at once struck with what Mr. Mill has called "the mongrel morality," of the later nineteenth century, with its intellectual confusion" and with "the growth of the secularist spirit." Looking at the disturbed scene from the point of view of an Ultramontane Catholic, he naturally cast his eyes across the Channel to where France and Germany, but France especially, had for many years been passing through the earlier stages of what is spoken of as the "Catholic Revival," a revival which was in fact one of the two contrary movements generated, as a consequence of the French Revolution, the other being the democratic advance throughout Europe which dated from that terrible upheaval, while the "Revival" was the reactionary and complementary movement. In a long and instructive chapter Mr. Wilfrid Ward describes the views and influence, in succession, of Chateaubriand, De Maitre, De Bonald, "the founder of Traditionalism," de Lamennais, who aimed at fusing and developing Ultramontanism and Traditionalism, but ended by bending his efforts to transform Ultramontanism into a democratic movement; of Montalembert and Lacordaire, who, following Lamennais, brought in the first stage of the "Liberal Catholic movement"; of Veuillot and the *Univers*, which became the organ of the Neo-Ultramontanes; of Abbé Gaume and his extravagances; of Dupanloup and Ozanam. He describes also the "Catholic Revival" in Germany, bringing into view Stolberg and Schlegel, Overbeck and the Romantic School, Möhler and his Symbolism, the Prussian Government and the Archbishops. He mentions as a feature common to the French and the German "Revivals," that they "both invoked Catholic tradition against a destructive philosophy." He thus prepares the way for explaining Ward's relations to Liberal Catholicism in England; his opposition to the *Rambler*, a Roman Catholic journal, called afterwards the *Home and Foreign Review*, because of its "liberal" laxity of tone and doctrine, his private controversy and his strained relations, during not a few years, with Newman, who for a short time edited the *Rambler*; and his connection with the *Dublin Review*, of which he became eventually the editor, and in connection with which he did the great work of his life by contributing

to it a number of masterly articles in opposition to the materialism of Mill and in defence of theistic philosophy. A considerable part of the volume under review is occupied with the matters we have thus slightly indicated, and, as connected with them, is concerned with Ward's extreme Ultramontanism on the subject of the *Syllabus of Pius IX.* and the Infallibility decree of the Papal Council of 1870, in contradistinction from the somewhat less unreasonable Ultramontanism of Newman.

It was just as Ward was at the height of his Ultramontane zeal and partisanship, it was, as already noted, in 1869, or soon afterwards, that he joined the Metaphysical Society, to which we have already referred. The two chapters on this society, and on the Agnostic Controversy are, as we have noted, of special interest; as also is the "Epilogue," in which, as between his father's extreme Ultramontanism, and what we may, perhaps, describe as Cardinal Newman's liberal Ultramontanism, Mr. Wilfrid Ward sums up, as it appears to us, rather in favour of Newman than his father, though he pronounces no judgment on the controversy as a whole. There are, besides, three valuable appendices, one of which contains a number of letters from Newman to Ward; while the "two psychological studies" of Dr. Ward, one by Baron F. von Hügel, and the other by Mr. Hutton of the *Spectator*, contained in chap. xiv., are very interesting contributions towards the comprehension of one of the most interesting and original characters which this century has produced.

Original Ward certainly was; his eccentricities verged, in some points, on repulsiveness. We learnt in the first volume of his biography that he refused to recognise patriotism as in any sense a virtue. This, however, though a singular and undesirable opinion, is intelligible, and might be taken as a sign of cosmopolitanism, or even as a form—though Cardinal Manning would not have allowed this—of Papal Catholicism. But he also denied, as we are informed in the same volume, that there was any special or necessary duty of love to parents, as such.* In this volume we find that he showed no natural

* *Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 124.

affection to his children as infants, and all but ignored their existence till they were old enough to be intelligent companions. Nevertheless, as they grew up, he showed himself a good father, and treated them with frank confidence and steady generosity. In all our judgments of him, it must be remembered that he knew nothing in his tender years of any tender nurture or wise training ; that his strong religious sensibilities received no welcome or guidance from a well-instructed or devoutly-disposed parent ; that at Winchester School the barbarities and the immoralities which prevailed darkened and depressed his mind and heart. His noble powers at no time received any recognition, much less any guidance and culture, except a chance recognition from a dignitary of the English Church, whose name is unknown, who met him sometimes at his uncle's. He was brought up, from his very babyhood, on a diet of perpetual playgoing ; while, at the same time, his shyness and awkwardness made him avoid society, no one about him having had skill or sympathy enough to draw forth his really bright faculties for society, or his companionable sympathies, which, though latent, were really strong. Thus he grew up the strong, eccentric, angular being, so vividly described in this Biography ; full of contradictoriness and wilfulness, though at heart also full of fun, frankness, and generosity. Thus also he grew up the shy, seclusive, absent-minded, inadvertent man, with no eye for material phenomena, for anything visible on the surface of life, with a dislike of all details, ignorant of all common things, disliking all records of facts, even the facts of history, and only happy in the inner world of abstract thought, where his powers found a free and undisturbed sphere—revelling in mathematics, in metaphysics, in argumentative discussions, but otherwise finding no pleasure, no congenial occupation, except in music, for which he had a passion, in fiction, or burlesque, or spectacular plays—*i.e.*, always in an unreal world—never in the actual play and commerce of life. Such a man came across Mill, and but for his deep and awful sense of God's reality, and the reality and life of the soul as related to God, its Maker and Judge, would probably have yielded himself to that master of discussion ; then he found his guide and oracle in Newman during a critical

period of his life, and was at least weaned from Mill and brought into deep and earnest religious relations with God and Christianity; then, following what seemed to be the laws of abstract logic, divorced from history and actual life, he threw himself passionately into the arms of the Roman Catholic Church, and became the most ultra of the Ultramontanes. Throughout life he was the same restless, strenuous spirit as when, in his boyhood, he equally refused all recreation and all quiet. Rest he could not; he must be always vehemently engaged about something. When he had not some good and useful thing to do, he must needs be amused, or else be given over to misery. Thus the passion of his childhood for the theatre remained the passion of his mature life, even to his latest years. But, at any rate, by his magnificent contributions to Christian philosophy of the highest, the most abstract and abstruse, but also the most central and supreme, quality, W. G. Ward did for the theistic controversy and for the doctrine of humanity, as involving the relations to the Creator of a free spirit, moral, responsible, and immortal—did, we say, for this—almost the greatest department of thought—a greater service than any man of his generation.

Nor must we forget how highly Tennyson esteemed him, and in what terms he expressed in the epitaph which may be read on Dr. Ward's monument at Weston Manor his opinion of the qualities of his neighbour and friend, totally ignorant though that friend was of the poet's writings. The tribute to Ward's generosity contained in his lines is true, as this article will have indicated, albeit he was so extreme a Papist, this being one of the many contradictions in his character. We cannot more fitly close this article, in which the grievous faults and errors and the singular intellectual deficiencies of Ward have been distinctly exhibited, than in Tennyson's kindly lines on his friend.

“Farewell, whose living like I shall not find—
Whose faith and work were bells of full accord—
My friend, the most unworldly of mankind,
Most generous of all Ultramontanes, Ward,
How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
How loyal in the following of thy Lord !”

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted. The Hulsean Lectures, 1892-1893. By Rev. J. B. HEARD, M.A., Author of "The Tripartite Nature of Man," "Old and New Theology." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1893. Price 6s.

THIS is a disappointing book. It is not worthy either of the subject, the occasion, or the author, whose work on *The Tripartite Nature of Man* was an essay of distinct and permanent value. The title led one to expect a piece of comparative historical theology, a careful and scholarly estimate of the Athanasian and Augustinian systems; such a contribution to the history of doctrine would have been very welcome, and we judged the lecturer to be well qualified to make it. But nothing of the kind is attempted. Mr. Heard is simply fighting over again, with wearying iteration of blows and knocks, his own battle of the "New" against the "Old Theology," under these imposing names. He has evidently suffered many things from the dogmatists, and cannot belabour them enough. He appears to have recently found out that the new theology, with its reaction against the popular "soul-saving" Protestantism on the one hand and Romanising sacerdotalism on the other, is a revival of the broader patristic teaching of Alexandria; and on the strength of this discovery he resumes his parable against the creeds and the Churches.

Now there is an element of truth in this position. As Dr. Westcott has been insisting for the last thirty years with his gentle and wise persuasion, we need to go back beyond Cyprian and Augustine to the School of Alexandria. Origen claims to be rehabilitated. The mighty spirit of Augustine has dominated the West far too exclusively. The austere and overbearing dogmatic temper and relentless logic which were combined in this extraordinary man with the loftiest religious genius and magnificent gifts of style, have impressed their mark on all the great schools of theology since, and not on Calvinism or Jansenism alone. The harsh governmental theories of the Latin Fathers require to be transfused with the more luminous intuitions and the finer mysticism of Greece and the East. The Johannine must be wedded to the Pauline doctrine. This is one of

the tasks awaiting the New Theology. But it will have to be executed in a discriminating and genial spirit, and with a fulness and exactness of knowledge that, we regret to say, are not apparent in these Hulsean Lectures, which bear the marks of hasty preparation and hurried publication. Scattered through the volume there are not a few penetrating thoughts and eloquent sentences; but as a whole, it is rambling and inconsequent, and in some passages so ill composed as to make us blush for the Cambridge University pulpit.

The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter.

Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by
H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cam-
bridge. London : Macmillan & Co. 1893. 5s. net.

Dr. Swete's little volume is the best monograph that has yet appeared on the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. He gives the text with ample notes, a translation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with every phase of the subject, and his book is enriched with a facsimile taken from M. Ernest Leroux's heliographic reproduction of the now famous MS. Akhmîm is a large market town on the east bank of the Nile, between Assiout and Abu Girzeh. "It marks the site of one of the oldest cities of the Thebaid, the Chemmis of Herodotus (ii. 91), the Panopolis of Strabo (xvii. p. 812). Once the stronghold of the worship of Khem, identified with the Greek Pan, Panoplii became in Christian times a centre of monastic life. An extensive Christian necropolis, begun in the fifth century, bears witness to the ecclesiastical importance of the place in days before the Arab invasion, and Akhmîm is said to contain at the present time a relatively large proportion of Christian inhabitants." In one of the graves of this city the French Archaeological Mission discovered during the winter of 1886-7 a small book, measuring 6 inches by 4½, with 33 parchment leaves stitched together into covers of pasteboard roughly cased in leather. It contained fragments of the lost Petrine Gospel and the Apocalypse, and of the Greek Version of the Book of Enoch. On the inside of the further cover was pasted a single leaf of the Greek Acts of St. Julian. Serapion tells us that the Gospel of St. Peter was Docetic, and this is proved by the Lord's freedom from pain at the moment of crucifixion ; His desertion by His Power at the moment of death ("My Power, my Power, why hast thou forsaken me ?"); the representation of His death as an ἀνθρώπος; the supernatural height of the Angels, and especially of the Risen Christ: the Personification of the Cross. Every point is brought out with great fulness of detail and ample scholarship. The arrangement is exceedingly clear, and the section devoted to the contents of the Gospel helps a student to see what new particulars are added to the story of the Passion by this interesting fragment of early Christian literature.

The Transfigured Sackcloth and other Sermons. By Rev. W.
L. WATKINSON. London : Sampson Low, Marston, & Co.
1893. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Watkinson has well earned his place in this series of "Preachers of the Age," for he deals with the greatest problems of the day in a way that cannot fail to help those who are wrestling with the hard questions of life, and throw light on some of its deepest mysteries. Take for instance the sermon on "The Law of Antagonism," based on the words in Deuteronomy : "From His right hand went a fiery law for them. Yea, He loved the people." "The severity of human life an expression of the Divine goodness"—that is the theme. We trace it first in nature, where the fiery law is manifest, in the absence of all concession to ignorance, folly, or weakness. The severity is not malevolent but benign. A creature with fine organisation degenerates into a mere parasite if it has an easy lot. "But, once more, let the conditions of life to that creature become severe; let it be reduced to a state of hunger, danger, and painfulness; let food be scarce, enemies abundant, climate harsh and bitter, and the fallen creature begins to recover its lost glory, until in a few generations it has attained once more all the complexity, vitality, and beauty of which that special organism is susceptible." So it is with man. Social rivalry brings its rich compensations. Our farmers declare they are being ruined by Free Trade. "But the fact is, men have to be ruined that they may be made over again, and fashioned on a grander pattern." The opening sermon is a noble protest against the temper which places an interdict on disagreeable and painful things. Revelation has no sympathy with such a spirit, for it recognises sin and sorrow and death. It "brings out broadly and impressively the darkness of the world, the malady of life, the terror of death, only that it may evermore make conspicuous the uplifted Cross, which, once seen, is death to every vice, a consolation in every sorrow, a victory over every fear."

Eight of the twelve sermons deal with the question of evil. We have been specially struck with that on "The Transformation of Evil." "Bates found on the Amazon a brilliant spider that spread itself out as a flower, and the insects lighting upon it, seeking sweetness, found horror, torment, death. Such transformations are common in human life; things of poison and blood are everywhere displaying themselves in forms of innocence, in dyes of beauty. The perfection of mimicry is in the moral world, deceiving the very elect." This quotation shows the felicity of illustration, joined to searching insight, which is the characteristic of the sermons. Mr. Watkinson draws some of his finest similes from science, and brings in Renan and his school to point many a moral. The jewelled style wins the reader's attention, but he soon finds the keen thrust of the sword of truth in his heart and conscience. Mr. Watkinson has never done anything better, and that is saying much, than this volume of sermons.

The Biblical Doctrine of Sin. By J. S. CANDLISH, D.D.
Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1893.

This brief monograph is an enrichment of a valuable series of handbooks. The doctrine, of which it gives an admirable survey, is one of the characteristic doctrines of Christianity. The view taken of it inevitably affects, indeed largely determines, the view taken of other essential doctrines. Calvinism on the one hand, and Socinianism on the other, equally prove this. A low doctrine of sin compels a low doctrine of redemption, and *vice versa*.

While the view of the nature of sin given by the author is Calvinist, it is Calvinist in a moderate form, very different in spirit from the definitions of the older Confessions. We recognise the Calvinist stamp rather in the phrases used, such as moral inability and formal freedom, than in the substance of the exposition. The twelve brief chapters are packed full of careful analysis, strong argument, and theological information. The analysis of the idea of sin given in the first chapter, the comparison of the Christian idea with the doctrine of other religions and theories, the distinction in the meaning of guilt in the fourth chapter, the discussion of the universal prevalence of sin and its explanations in the sixth and seventh chapters, the defence of the doctrine of the Fall and of native depravity—are all excellent. Not the least interesting chapter is the last one, in which the author dwells on the “elements of hope” in the Christian doctrine. The very fact that sin is represented as a fall implies a high doctrine of man’s original state, and justifies the hope of redemption. The same law of solidarity which is at work in the Fall is at work also in redemption. The disobedience of the first Adam is met by the obedience of the second, “recapitulated” as Irenæus would say. The treatise is earnestly to be commended to theological students all and sundry.

Inspiration, and other Lectures. By T. GEORGE ROOKE, B.A.,
late President of Rawdon College, Leeds. Edited by two
of his Students. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1893.

As a preacher’s best memorial is a volume of his sermons, so a professor’s best memorial is found in specimens of his teaching. This thought doubtless suggested the publication of three courses of lectures in memory of an accomplished teacher, whose too early death was a great loss not merely to the Baptist Churches, but to the Church at large. It is a thoughtful, devout, scholarly, winning personality that is revealed in these pages. The prefatory memoir might well have been longer, and a portrait would have been a welcome addition.

The three series of Lectures on psychology, inspiration, and pastoral theology are intrinsically good. The six chapters on psychology give a brief, clear review of the subject. Other six chapters on the auth-

rity of Scripture and inspiration take up a position which will commend itself to moderate, thoughtful minds. Six chapters, again, on pastoral work discuss the different aspects of a pastor's work, and glow with whole-hearted devotion. The counsels given are excellent. "At the beginning of your ministry abstain from political strife and public secular business altogether, and never engage in either unless you are fully persuaded that you will thereby serve your generation according to God's will, and that you will not dishonour your ministerial calling, nor weaken your influence for good with any one. Also, be very chary of preaching sermons that might appear political and secular rather than tending distinctly to religious edification."

The Mystery of Grace, and other Sermons. By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

Dr. Macmillan's is one of the household names of edifying religious literature. We can never have too much from his pen, for he has published no half-finished work. And his writings abound in what is so helpful to a preacher's success—namely, illustration taken chiefly from nature, but often also from literature, history, and art. The very titles of some of these twenty sermons are characteristic—"Growth under Pressure," "Moulded and Beaten Work," "The Harmony of Christian Growth," "A Burdensome Stone," "Hind of the Morning," "Wings of the Morning," "The Land of Far Distances," "The Cherubim on the Vail," "The Folded Napkin." The easy, graceful style is among the least merits of the volume. Evangelical doctrine is just as conspicuous. Preachers and hearers alike may learn from the volume; preachers may learn the secret of effective preaching, hearers the secret of Christian living.

The Foregleams of Christianity. An Essay on the Religious History of Universities. By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. Revised and enlarged edition. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1893.

There is much that is ambiguous about the positions taken in this work. There can, of course, be no objection to the statement that Christianity includes all that is true in all other religious systems. But the first part of the present work seems to maintain that, on the evolution principle, other erroneous systems were necessary precursors of Christianity. Fetishism, Pantheism, Polytheism, Anthropomorphism, Dualism, Monotheism, Theism, are all treated in this way. Christianity, or "Catholic Christianity," is the synthesis of the others. This seems to us to break down the distinction between truth and falsehood, or at least to go perilously near doing so. Perhaps

the writer only intends to emphasise the true elements in the previous theories, but he does not make this clear. The second part of the work makes the growth of a priestly order the test of religious progress. This is illustrated by reference to Ancient Egypt, Hellas, Rome, Gaul, India, Iran, Israel. "Every great flowering season of the world's civilisations, when not coinciding exactly, as in the great majority of cases, with the ascendancy of a clergy, has had such an ascendancy either for rapid effect or recent cause." "It is not surprising that, all over Europe at the present day, it is in the clergy that are found the warmest defenders of liberal & mere utilitarian education." In this country everything went well until the Government was moved to favour the spread of Atheism. "I have had opportunities of noticing in Spain how disgracefully the level of university studies has sunk since the clergy ceased to have the direction of superior education." Whether the writer's standpoint is Anglican or Roman Catholic is far from clear. The book contains many suggestive extracts from writers on religion and civilisation, especially French writers.

The Old Testament and the New Criticism. By ALBERT BLOMFIELD, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. London : Eliot Stock. 1893.

Dr. Blomfield disclaims any pretence to Hebrew scholarship, but he holds that the great questions raised by the New Criticism must not be left entirely to Hebraists, because their arguments do not apply to specialists only, but claim to be judged by the same criteria which we should apply to the study of any other books. He deals minutely with various points raised in Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and with some leading contentions of Wellhausen, whose "shameless irreverence" he does not forget to brand. We heartily agree with many of Dr. Blomfield's criticisms, and commend his vigorous book to all students of the subject.

The Biblical Illustrator. Or, Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations, Expository, Scientific, Geographical, Historical, and Homiletic, gathered from a wide range of Home and Foreign Literature, on the Verses of the Bible. By JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. Hebrews. Vol. I. London : Nisbet & Co. 1893. 7s. 6d.

The Biblical Illustrator has established its reputation as a treasure-house packed with anecdotes, similes, and illustrations of every sort that a preacher or teacher wishes most to find. We know how much busy lay preachers prize and use it. The introduction deals carefully with the difficult question of authorship, and leans to the side of

Apollos. The selections are drawn from a wide range of homiletic literature, and those who turn here will find careful exposition of the text and ample material for garnishing sermons and lessons. On p. 606, line 15, "infirmity of consolation" is an evident misprint for "infinity."

The Every-Day of Life. By the Rev. J. R. MILLER, D.D.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 3s. 6d.

This new volume of the "Silent Times" Series is very tastefully got up. It is half-bound in parchment, with gilt top, and is printed on rough paper. The essays are just the thing to take into a quiet corner and to set one musing on better things. They are always suggestive, and often have a glow of feeling about them that quickens a reader's desire after "things that are excellent." We can endorse the writer's words in his dedication of the book to those who want to grow better. "If you are satisfied with yourself, you would better not read it, for it might spoil your contentment." We must add one word of criticism. The use of "would" in this sentence is not the only blemish in the volume. We hope that these will be removed in another edition, for they seriously detract from the pleasure with which one turns over Dr. Miller's pages.

Christian Classics. Series VII. The Two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians ; The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians ; The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by HORACE E. HALL, M.A. (Lond.). London : Religious Tract Society. 1893.

Many students of early Christian literature will be glad to have four documents of such importance as these gathered side by side into one volume. Mr. Hall has not overburdened his work with learned introductions. We have not to wade through a mass of irrelevant matter, but find the ascertained facts clearly presented in a scholarly way. Nothing material is omitted. The translation reads easily, and the notes are useful. We hope that a book so valuable and instructive will get into the hands of many theological students.

The Gospel of St. John. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 3s. 6d.

These expositions were prepared as a comment on the International Sunday School Lessons for the American *Sunday School Times*. The language is very simple, as befits the circle for which the studies

were written ; but they are full of profound thought, couched in Dr. Maclaren's felicitous style. The most advanced and most spiritually-minded student will delight in the book, but the youngest teacher will also find it a helpful and suggestive guide in preparation for his Bible lessons. The manner of treatment is eminently suggestive and practical.

Theosophy, or Psychological Religion. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M.
London : Longmans & Co. 1893.

This volume consists of the Gifford Lectures delivered last year by Professor Müller before the University of Glasgow. They are full of learning and instinct with a universal human sympathy. They are also penetrated by a devout spirit. At the same time they are full of questionable speculations. To all students of the connection of the world's great forms of religion with each other and their relations to divine truth and to Christianity, this interesting volume, the result of very much meditation during many years, is to be commended as one that calls for careful, wary, and independent, but yet not unsympathetic study. It will suggest much deep truth, though it contains not a little that is very doubtful.

1. *The Book of Joshua.* By WILLIAM G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D.,
New College, Edinburgh.
2. *The First Book of Kings.* By Archdeacon FARRAR.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 7s. 6d. each.

1. In this volume Dr. Blaikie, we think, is at his best—plain, frank, thorough, a stout defender of the historical truth of Scripture, a devout expositor who carries his spiritual insight with him in all his study and exposition, and everywhere writing with the glow of a hearty and orthodox Christian.

2. In this volume of the *Expositor's Bible* Dr. Farrar is fully himself. It is a book of much learning, of insight, and instinct with high Christian faith ; it is also, like all its author writes, interesting and attractive. But it needs to be read with caution and in the exercise of an independent judgment. Some of its concessions to the so-called "higher criticism" are questionable. The judgment of the able and estimable author, it need hardly be said, is by no means equal to his gifts of eloquence and historical imagination.

Truth in the Divine Light of Reason and Revelation. By the
Rev. JOHN BLACKET. London : Nisbet & Co. 1893.

This is a plain, thoughtful book for plain people, dealing with the profoundest questions affecting faith and salvation.

The Synoptic Problem for English Readers. By ALFRED J. JOLLEY. Macmillan & Co. 1893.

We cannot recommend this volume as contributing anything of great importance to the solution of one of the most difficult questions in literary and sacred criticism. The well is very deep, and we do not think Mr. Jolley has been able to come near sounding its depths.

The Oxford Clarendon Press has issued *The Book of Enoch*, edited by R. H. Charles, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford, who has been helped in his work by Dr. Cheyne and Dr. Sanday, to whom he dedicates the volume "in much gratitude." It is translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic text, and the volume contains and publishes in full the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments. This is a book for scholars, and by them will be hailed with much thankfulness. It need hardly be said that it is printed and every way got up admirably, like all that issues from the great Oxford Press.

We have received from Messrs. Macmillan four additional volumes of Maurice's works. Some of these are among the most valuable and suggestive of his writings, although all contain more or less of confused thought. His *Lectures on Social Morality, delivered in the University of Cambridge*, is here published in a second edition. His standard of social morality is, it need hardly be said, pure and high, and untainted by materialistic utilitarianism. His *Friendship of Books, and other Lectures*, one of his best esteemed books, is published in a fifth edition, with an interesting Preface by his friend, Thomas Hughes, Q.C. His volume of Sermons on *The Prayer-Book and the Lord's Prayer* is here in its second edition. His *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, the Preface to which contains his reply to Dr. Candlish's criticism of his famous *Essays*, is one of his weakest books, full of fallacies and paralogisms. It appears here as a third edition, the first having been published in 1854.

The Expositor. Vol. VII. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This appears to be one of the best of the *Expositor* series. Professor Dods has his favourites, but his "Survey of Literature on the New Testament" is very able and comprehensive. Many other writers, not less distinguished or able, combine to support this well-established miscellany of Biblical exposition and illustration.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Edward the First. By Professor T. F. TOUT. London :
Macmillan & Co. 1893.

THIS would seem to be the author's first book, at any rate his first of any pretensions. He owns no university or college degree—at least, none is quoted ; nor is it stated on title-page or in preface of what or where he ranks as Professor. None the less he appears to have well done the important and difficult work of summarising the history and character of the greatest of the Plantagenet kings—perhaps we might justly say the greatest of the kings of England. Edward in this series takes rank as a great “statesman,” as one of twelve selected English statesmen, a series beginning with the Conqueror and ending with Peel, and representing “those leading actors in our affairs who have left an abiding mark on the policy, the institutions, and the position of Great Britain among States.” To have been such a statesman is, for a thirteenth-century monarch of England, the highest praise. It involves very much more than the mere gift of statesmanship. No monarch of England in that age could have cleared his ground for continuous and constructive statesmanship, much less could have held his ground as a legislator and administrator of the highest class, as in effect Edward did during forty years—for he began to govern and virtually to reign before his father died—unless he had been also a brave and successful warrior, and a sovereign of kingly accomplishments and of great personal tact and influence. All this Edward was, and throughout Europe he was recognised by all rulers of men and all counsellors of kings as foremost among potentates, and most influential among counsellors. He was yet more than this. He soared above and beyond the mere limits of nationality, or race, or personal ambition. He was a man of faith as well as of policy. He led the last crusading expedition of any historical importance, and led it in the spirit of a sincere soldier of the Church, warring, as he believed righteously, in behalf of Christ and His kingdom. His character also was, in many respects, superior to that of nearly all other monarchs of his period. He was not merely religious ; he was, in all domestic virtues and duties, not only without reproach, but admirable. To this great king, in a clear, well-arranged, and, allowing for a verbal blemish here and there, very well and effectively written summary of his history, Mr. Tout has done justice. His explanation is distinct and adequate of the steps by which, advancing on the first foundations laid by Henry III. in his weakness, and by the able but violent and overbearing Simon de Montfort, Edward was led to organise, in its main features, the Parliamentary system of England in such a manner that, without any radical changes or cardinal dislocation of parts, it endured in grand continuity of principle and growing development of

its organisation and its proportions during the centuries to follow. His account also of the Scotch overlordship question seems to be good and impartial. In thirteen successive chapters the author deals with the early years of Edward, the Barons' Wars, his Crusading enterprise, his Continental policy, his conquest and settlement of the Welsh Principality, his Legislation, the development of the Parliamentary system, his relations with the Church, the Scottish controversy and struggle, and the critical later years of his life. The book furnishes an excellent view of the great character and the great deeds of one who was every inch a king—a linguist, a lawyer, a statesman, an administrator, a Churchman, and at the same time a true English patriot, a skilful and dauntless warrior. In those old times, to be a great king was to be great indeed: weak kings, incompetent kings, mediocre kings, could never hold their own between barons, commons, bishops, popes, and rival potentates. Edward Longshanks, a married man at fifteen, was strong, brave, and full of counsel and resource through all his days till, great to the end, he died at what, in those days, was the full old age of sixty-seven.

1. *Rulers of India. Lord Clive.* By Colonel G. B. MALLESON,
C.S.I. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1893. 2s. 6d.

2. *The Marquess Wellesley, K.G.* By the Rev. W. H. HUTTON,
M.A. 2s. 6d.

1. This volume yields to none of the "Rulers of India" Series in interest and importance. A more spirited sketch of the life and work of the great soldier and administrator, who laid the foundations of our Indian Empire, could not be desired. The chapter on Clive's "Early Years" shows that his chief characteristics, even as a schoolboy, were boldness and insubordination. He was daring almost to recklessness; a leader who never lost his head, but proved calmest when the danger was greatest. His father, disgusted because his eldest son would not adopt the legal profession, was glad to ship Robert off as a writer in the service of the East India Company. On his arrival at Madras, Clive found himself set down to hard and uninteresting duties, which he performed sullenly and without enthusiasm. He held aloof from others, and wrote to one of his cousins, "I have not enjoyed a happy day since I left my native country." Colonel Malleson traces the growth of the struggle between France and England in India which unexpectedly changed the course of Clive's life. In 1751 he secured a transfer to the military service, and soon compelled Arcot to surrender without losing a single man. That brilliant exploit proved the turning-point of England's fortunes in the East. Clive was soon on the high road to fame and fortune. He "revelled in danger. In its presence his splendid qualities shone forth with a brilliancy which has never been surpassed. His was the soul that animated the material figures around him; his the daring which could inspire his subordi-

nates, imbue them with his own high courage, and make them likewise ‘conquer the impossible.’” His memorable victory at Plassey, and the way in which he dealt with the Dutch invasion, are two stirring episodes which Colonel Malleson describes with great vigour. When he became Governor-General, Clive had to deal with a mutiny among the English officers which brought out his finest qualities. His work in India shines out more brightly in contrast with the miserable incapacity of the “Directors” at home, men who utterly failed to see what a future the splendid daring of their Governor was opening up for England. Clive was a great statesman as well as a great soldier. He was a born master of men, never daunted by difficulty, never at fault in moments of perplexity. His false treaty with Aminchand is considered by Colonel Malleson as the chief blot on his reputation; but we should like to know how many great generals under the same circumstances would not have taken a similar course. Colonel Malleson’s vivid sketch ought to be in the hands of every Englishman who wishes to understand the making of our Indian Empire.

2. Mr. Hutton has a fine subject, and he has given us one of the most interesting volumes of this invaluable series. Wellesley has been called “The Great Proconsul,” and he well deserves that proud title. In the vastness of the territory over which he ruled, in the principles of his administration, and his own personal character, just, despotic, cultured, he reminds us of the Viceroys who served the Roman State. He was grandson of that Richard Colley, who became heir to Garret Wesley on the refusal of the future poet of Methodism to accept the honour. Richard Wesley was pronounced by Dr. Goodall, head master of Harrow, to be easily Porson’s superior as a scholar. After a brilliant career at college he entered political life. As a member of the Irish House of Peers, young Lord Mornington soon attracted attention. In 1784, he entered the English House of Commons, and gradually worked his way upward till he was appointed Governor-General of India in 1793. The little Viceroy who revelled in pageantry was a “Sultanised Englishman,” but he soon showed that prudent foresight and capacity for high position which made his rule so memorable. “He found the East India Company a trading body: he left it, almost in spite of itself, the mightiest power in the land.” The way in which he reduced the renowned Tipú, who was plotting with the French, was his first great exploit. The serious difficulties in the Karnátk, Tanjore, and Oudh were dealt with in the same decisive and masterly fashion. The Maráthás gave him more trouble, but he would have brought the matter to a triumphant conclusion had not Colonel Monson lost nerve in the struggle with Holkar, the Maráthá general. The disaster thus met by our army caused a panic among the Directors, who sent Cornwallis out to take Wellesley’s place. Had he been left alone he would soon have retrieved the serious disaster and crushed the Maráthá power, which was now allowed time to gather strength before it was broken up by Lord Hastings. Wellesley saw clearly that instead of a mere trading company we had in India the opportunity of creating an Empire and a great nation. He is the first Indian viceroy who stands forth

decisively as a Christian ruler. He prohibited the sacrifice of children at the Ganges, and caused an investigation of *Sati* which prepared for its abolition by Lord William Bentinck. On his return home he took an active part in politics. His work as English Resident at the Court of Spain and as Foreign Minister did much to secure for his brother those resources by which he was enabled to gain his great victories in the Peninsula. Wellesley became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1821, and laboured hard to restore peace and concord to Ireland. He was not a popular ruler, but he was a genuine philanthropist and a far-sighted statesman. He was a brilliant talker, whose *bon mots* were constantly repeated in society, but he was what his contemporaries called "a man of pleasure." Perhaps that is the explanation of his comparative failure as an English politician. His work in India "remains uneffaced and ineffaceable." He taught the native races to cease their feuds and turn to England for union and rule. "He destroyed the cruel and threatening Mohammedan power in the South. He changed Oudh from a danger into a safeguard, and set Bengal free on every side from fear of foreign attack. He paralysed if he did not destroy the hydra-headed confederacy of the Marâthâs. He made the name of England honoured from Persia to the Red Sea : and he raised her fame in a way more durable than by military exploits. He taught her rulers, her civilians, her judges, to trust for their power only to the uprightness of their lives, the completeness of their labours, their knowledge of the character and the learning of the people committed to their charge."

Bygone Warwickshire. Edited by WILLIAM ANDREWS, F.R.H.S.

Hull : Andrews & Co. 1893. 7s. 6d.

Warwickshire affords ample material for a popular county history, and Mr. Andrews' contributors have known how to avail themselves of the historic associations of Kenilworth, Coventry, and other famous places in the shire. Mr. Page deals in happy style with Kenilworth, and Mr. Axon's "St. Wulfstan" is very entertaining. Mr. Walters gives some pleasant "Glimpses" of George Eliot's Warwickshire scenery; and Mr. Wall, though he takes a long time to reach the heart of his subject, has collected some quaint bits of Folk-lore. There is an interesting article on "Lady Godiva," and a good account of Lawrence Sheriff, to whom we owe Rugby School. Three brightly written papers deal with "Shakespeare at Home," "The Shakespeare Garden," and "The Hathaway Cottage at Shottery." Graver subjects are not overlooked. As a trustworthy and readable introduction to Warwickshire worthies and to the antiquities of the county we know no better book. It is got up in the attractive style which has made the "Bygone" Series deservedly popular, and is well illustrated and printed in bold type. On p. 26, "joist" is a misprint, and there is a slip in the name Æschylus on p. 237.

[NO. CLXI.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. XXI. NO. I.

M

Lloyd's, Yesterday and To-day. By HENRY M. GREY. Illustrated by W. D. ALMOND. London: John Haddon & Co. 1893. 3s.

This instructive and entertaining history of one of our most important commercial bodies ought to become widely popular. Mr. Grey's sketches originally appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, and are here published with many additions, which add much to their value. Any one who will stand at the eastern end of the Royal Exchange between eleven and four will notice a constant stream of people hurrying in and out, most of whom have a busy, pre-occupied air. If he passes through the great iron gateway, and turns sharp to the right, he sees a large doorway, over the fanlight of which is the magic inscription "Lloyd's." He may climb the broad staircase, but there an official in resplendent uniform bars further progress. If a member is wanted, his name is given by the janitor to the "caller," who stands in his little pulpit, and sings it out in stentorian tones. Down the entire length of the room are three rows of "boxes," with space for three persons to sit on each side. Here the underwriters are busy entering the "risks" they accept, signing policies, or "taking down" claims that have been examined and passed. Policies, when signed, are put into a wired receptacle, from which the brokers take them as they pass. The gangways between the boxes are thronged by brokers and clerks, who have no little difficulty in avoiding collisions as they push from one underwriter to another. Great care is taken to guard against the admission of any save men of stability and repute into the charmed circle of underwriters. A candidate must procure a recommendation signed by six members, who attend at the weekly committee to answer questions. If the ballot is favourable, the new member must deposit with the committee £5000 or £6000, on which he receives interest. The principal is returned three years after he ceases to be a member. Besides this, there is an entrance fee of £400, and an annual subscription of twenty guineas. A member who is not an underwriter pays an entrance fee of £25 and a subscription of seven guineas. This great institution, which now almost sways the sceptre over the shipping world, owes its rise to Edward Lloyd's Coffee-house in Tower Street, where nautical men used to congregate as early as 1688. In those days it was the favourite place for delivering up runaway slaves, but its connection with marine insurance had not yet begun. In 1692 Mr. Lloyd moved to the corner of Lombard Street and Abchurch Lane, where the prosperity of his house steadily increased. Four years later he published *Lloyd's News*. It appeared three times a week, giving shipping and commercial news of all sorts. By degrees the place came to be recognised as the centre of marine insurance. Business grew so rapidly that in 1770 the brokers and underwriters moved to temporary quarters in Pope's Head Alley. It was Mr. John Julius Angerstein who prevented the members taking up their quarters in the rooms lately occupied by the British Herring Fishery Company,

and secured premises in the Royal Exchange. The Mercers' Company offered the lease of these rooms on condition that Mr. Angerstein made himself personally responsible for the rent of £180 per annum. This was in 1774, and Lloyd's has been housed in the Royal Exchange ever since. Mr. Angerstein became quite an institution at Lloyd's, and for sixteen years was Chairman of the Committee. Policies which bore his name were called "Julians," and were much prized by the brokers, who knew that where he led the best men at Lloyd's would follow. The great corporation has not confined itself to marine insurance, as some lively pages in this book bear witness. The service which it rendered by promoting the first lifeboats will always be remembered as one of the glories of Lloyd's. A more public-spirited corporation English commerce has never known. The attempted frauds supply a capital chapter, and the details of the business which introduce us to the "Loss Book," the list of "arrivals," the history of every captain and every vessel are very entertaining. We have not met a brighter volume than this for many a day.

The Free Church of Scotland: Her Origin, Founders, and History. By PETER BAYNE, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 6s.

It is well that Dr. Bayne should have done this work. The veteran author has not lost his fire or his force of vital intelligence; as was to be expected also, he writes with great breadth of sympathy, and is candid in his judgments of men of every school alike, divines and statesmen, who took part in the great controversy of which he writes, although Chalmers, Candlish, Cunningham, Buchanan, and Guthrie are his great heroes. At the same time, the verdict of history is not likely, we think, to agree with his statement that the whole controversy arose out of an act of usurpation on the part of the Court of Session, connived at by the British Parliament. That is a "stalwart" Free Church assumption, but not likely to be endorsed by a dispassionate student of the legal aspects of the case, as exhibited in the volume of State Trials recently reviewed in this journal. From a Free Church point of view, however, this volume is to be commended as well-informed, vivid, excellently written, and written also in a liberal and kindly spirit.

Parthia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S., &c. &c. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893. 5s.

One of the greatest empires, with an exceedingly obscure history, was that of Parthia. No one could so fitly write this volume of the "Story of the Nations" as the very learned Emeritus Professor, who has here clearly and succinctly brought out to view the line of growth, development, and swift decay disclosed in the eight centuries which

measured the life of Parthia. At last we have a first-class monograph which will enable the student to understand an empire of which the wonderful force and greatness are implied in many an allusion of the old-world classics, but hitherto have been involved, for most students and even scholars, in deep obscurity.

BELLES LETTRES.

Questions at Issue. By EDMUND GOSSE. London : W. Heinemann. 1893. 7s. 6d.

MR. GOSSE has a pleasant way of dealing with his topics which makes this volume very attractive. It is a series of contemporary criticisms dealing with that floating literature of the day in studying which the student feels that he is not yet controlled by tradition nor hedged about with logical deductions. "The critic may enjoy the easy sense of having abandoned the lecturing desk or the tribune, and of mingling in easy conversation with men who are not bound to preserve any decorum in listening to his opinions." The first paper, on the "Tyranny of the Novel," shows how completely fiction holds the field in contemporary literature, and pleads with the leading novelists to extend their field—to treat life broadly and to treat it whole. The silly piping of the loves of the drawing-room and the obsequiousness shown towards "a supposititious public clamouring for the commonplace" which inspire the majority of novel-writers, must give place to wider and saner views of life. Our novelists, Mr. Gosse holds, write too early and too fast. M. Zola is held up as "the one living novelist who has striven to give a large, competent, and profound view of the movement of life." We regret that there is not some more vigorous protest against Zola's nauseous realism. The paper on "The Influence of Democracy" on literature is very interesting, and the question "Has America produced a Poet?" is handled in a way that every competent judge on this side of the Atlantic will approve. We are glad to note the sentence about "the bastard jargon of Walt Whitman, and kindred returns to sheer barbarism," a just and timely protest indeed. "Tennyson—and After" deals with the ingratitude of the hour towards our surviving poets. Mr. Gosse says, "I believe that I take very safe ground when I say that our living poets present a variety and amplitude of talent, a fulness of tone, an accomplishment in art, such as few other generations in England, and still fewer elsewhere, have been in a position to exult in." We cannot approve the tone in which Mr. Gosse treats the shady side of Shelley's life, but his book is full of suggestive passages so brightly put that they cannot fail to gain a host of readers.

ART AND AESTHETICS IN FRANCE.

In the *Artistes Célèbres Series*,* M. A. Gazier's excellent monograph, "Philippe et Jean Baptiste de Champaigne," is of unusual interest in a historical point of view. Flemish by origin but naturalised in France, Philippe de Champaigne and his nephew Jean exercised the *métier* of portrait-painting under peculiarly favourable conditions. The reign of Louis XIII. was prolific of commanding and picturesque personalities in both Church and State, most of whom it fell to the lot of these accomplished artists to place on canvas. Louis himself, Richelieu, Turenne, Cardinal de Retz, Jansenius, Antoine and Angelica Arnauld, and most of the more eminent of the Port Royalists, were limned by either the uncle or the nephew. Both also cultivated with success the field of sacred art, that field in which real success is so difficult of achievement, and anything less impermissible. M. Gazier's extremely interesting study is made the more valuable by numerous engravings of high artistic merit.

In the same Series we have also received "Les Frères Van Ostade," by Marguerite Van de Wiele, who writes with ample knowledge, critical appreciation, and charming grace and ease concerning these *petit maîtres* of the Dutch school, in whom, as she justly remarks, is embodied the very type of the modest tranquil bourgeois life of their day and generation.

The quarter's *L'Art** is of very various interest, comprising, besides *comptes rendus* on the French, English, and Spanish exhibitions, articles on the Pau tapestries (seventeenth century), modern Japanese engraving, Egyptian religious architecture, the acquisitions made by the Louvre at the recent dispersion of the *Collection Spitzer*, a notice of some of the principal masterpieces in the gallery of M. H. A. Steengracht Van Duivenvoorden at the Hague, causeries on Champfleury and J. F. Millet, and other miscellanea too numerous to specify.

We have also received a valuable addition to our portfolio in the shape of 101 engravings from the works of eminent modern landscapists of all schools, issued in two parts, under the title *Paysagistes Contemporains*, at the modest price of three francs a part.

1. *Portraits.* By AUGUSTA WEBSTER. 5s.

2. *Selections from the Verse of Augusta Webster.* London : Macmillan & Co. 1893. 4s. 6d.

1. It has been to us a genuine pleasure to read these poems. In them we have found some of the highest qualities of poetic genius—insight, subtlest analytic power, great intensity of feeling kept within due bounds by fine artistic taste and culture, and often much felicity

* Paris : Librairie de L'Art.

of style. For the most part, the greatly gifted authoress treats the commonplaces of human life—love and hope and fear and disappointment—emotions and experiences which all can feel and pass through, but which only the true poet can express. One proof of the power of these poems is found in the fact that the reader is constrained to read the volume through, and then begin again, and finally to wonder why he never heard of it before. Many of the lines, such as “Oh crystal music of the air-borne lark,” cling to the mind, and some of the poems, such as “The Castaway” and, in a widely different style, “The Happiest Girl in the World,” make an indelible impression. We should have liked to hear more frequently the note of jubilation. If the writer is too often in the vein of sadness, and sometimes of melancholy, this is not because she does not know what gives to life so much significance and is the secret of the “living hope:”

“Aye, there’s the answer to one’s every want,
 One’s every doubt, that promise *by-and-by* ;
 It gives this life a beauty, as the glimpse
 Between the hills of the great open sea
 Gives to some inland nook among the woods;
 It is the full completed melody
 The shifting prelude hints at. Life is good,
 But most because, in its best perfectness,
 It comes like memory of that other life
 We have not known, but shall.”

This is the third edition. More than twenty years have passed since the issue of the second. A fourth, we trust, will soon be called for.

2. The volume of *Selections* contains some of the best of the *Portraits*, and several of the lovely lyrics which abound in the author’s classic dramas, *In a Day*, *The Sentence*, *Disguises*, &c. For more than a quarter of a century Mrs. Webster has taken a very high place in literary circles, both as a thinker and as a poet. It is a hopeful sign that her pregnant poems are now finding wider and more popular appreciation.

The Warwick Shakespeare : The Tragedy of King Richard II.

Edited by C. H. HERFORD, Litt. D. 1s. 6d.

The Tragedy of Julius Caesar. Edited by ARTHUR D. INNES,
 M.A. 1s.

London : Blackie & Son. 1893.

The Warwick Shakespeare is an attempt to present the greater plays of the dramatist in their literary aspect, and not merely as material for the study of philology or grammar. It is not a rival to the Clarendon Press edition, with which it naturally invites comparison, for the minutiae

needed in examinations are not given here; but it is the best guide for those who wish to study the literary beauties of the plays. The Introductions are valuable. Professor Herford's account of the early performances of Richard II. is worth noting. Its studious avoidance of noise and bustle, of obvious and harrowing tragedy makes Richard II. ill-suited to our large theatres. "Its wealth of poetry and meaning are disclosed only by intimate study." Mr. Pater says that in the hands of Kean the play became like an exquisite performance on the violin. The care with which any divergences from history are pointed out is a useful feature of Professor Herford's work. The notes give careful and adequate explanations of any difficult points, and the glossaries are excellent. The attention given to Shakespeare's prosody in both these little volumes is a noteworthy feature. Mr. Innes' Introduction to *Julius Cæsar* is not quite so full as that to *Richard II.*, but his work is quite as painstaking and exact as that of his brother editor. These neat little editions ought to secure a very large circulation. They are a distinct acquisition for lovers of Shakespeare.

The Fair Land of Time. Selections from the Poets for the Seasons and the Months. Illustrated by FRED. MINES, PAUL DE LONGPRÉ and BERTHA MAGUIRE. 12s.

Children's Stories from Dickens. Retold by his Granddaughter and others. Edited by EDRIC VREDENBURG. Illustrated by FRANCES BRUNDAGE, HAROLD COPPING, and others. 6s.
London : Raphael Tuck & Son. 1893.

These volumes have been sent us as specimens of the books which Messrs. Tuck are issuing for a prize competition which is to be on even a larger scale than those which they arranged at the Dudley Gallery in 1880, and the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours in 1890. Each competitor must buy one of the volumes; so that this is a very ingenious arrangement for calling attention to Messrs. Tuck's publications for the year. But it will also stimulate many amateurs to send in literary and art contributions, and will thus have a distinct educational value. *The Fair Land of Time* is a beautifully got-up volume with coloured illustrations representing the months and seasons. Bertha Maguire's sprays of oak-leaves and holly are the best things in the volume, but Mr. Mines' richly-coloured full-page illustrations are very attractive, and the selections of poetry are happy. The *Children's Stories from Dickens* make a really delightful book. The pathos and gay humour of these tales never seem to be exhausted, whilst some of the pictures are not unworthy even of such a text. Frances Brundage's coloured portraits of Tiny Tim, Little Paul and Florence, At the Holly-Tree Inn, the Kenwigs Family, are very taking, and some of the black and white pictures are scarcely less attractive.

Ben Jonson. Edited by BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D. With an Introduction by C. H. HERFORD. In Three Volumes, Vol. I. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

This is one of the "Mermaid Series," a series which professes to give the "best plays" of the old dramatists, but which, in fact, gives the complete plays of some of the coarsest and grossest among the playwrights of the most demoralised period of dramatic authorship, such for example as Wycherley. Such books are, of course, only intended for the use of professional students of dramatic literature. All the volumes are—as the present one, the first of three, is—advertised to be "unexpurgated." This volume contains three of the best among the dramas of "rare Ben Jonson," and students will appreciate the cheapness and convenience of the publication in this form, and in three volumes, of his "best plays." The remaining volumes will be looked for.

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. By A. CONAN DOYLE. Second Edition. London: G. Newnes. 1893.

Dr. Doyle's "Study in Scarlet" made Sherlock Holmes a well-known character to many readers. The amateur detective has never been painted in more attractive fashion as a man of good education who has specially cultivated the subjects which might help him in his peculiar profession, and reduced the faculty of observation to something like a science. Holmes finds a second self in the person of his friend Dr. Watson, who assists him in his chief undertakings, and generally plays the part of confidant and chronicler to the absorbed and lonely detective of Baker Street. Crime, of course, has its part in these twelve adventures. But, happily for the reader's nerves, he is not set down to study twelve chapters of horror. "A Scandal in Bohemia" deals with a king's entanglement with an actress. Holmes is instructed to secure a photograph of the prince and the lady which threatens to make trouble on the eve of the king's marriage. He finds out where the photograph is concealed by a clever trick, but Irene Adler outwits him at the critical moment, and slips through his fingers in a way that made him feel that she eclipsed the whole of her sex. "A Case of Identity" introduces us to a lower stratum of society, and is certainly no pleasing view of a London interior. "The Red-headed League," with its description of Fleet Street choked with red-headed men seeking a situation, is really too ridiculous. The honest pawnbroker who gets the place is thus kept out of the way whilst his new assistant undermines his premises, in order to rob the City and Suburban Bank. "The Boscombe Valley Mystery" describes the detection of a murder in a very clever fashion. Perhaps the most amusing chapter is "The Man with the Twisted Lip." A gentleman who lives in Lee is seen by his wife in an upper room of a squalid London street, apparently in grave peril. She calls the police; but,

though his clothes are found in the room, all trace of the husband is gone. Sherlock Holmes is set to work, and finds that the lost man is a professional beggar who makes more than seven hundred pounds a year, but has managed to keep his secret from his wife, and is willing to go to Bow Street on suspicion of murder rather than let the truth be known. Sherlock Holmes' appearance in the cells at Bow Street with the sponge is one of the best bits in the book. "The Beryl Coronet" and "The Blue Carbuncle" are two mysterious jewel robberies. Each adventure is complete in itself, and all are both readable and exciting. The handsome volume, with its excellent illustrations, does credit to the enterprising publisher of the *Strand Magazine*.

Many Inventions. By RUDYARD KIPLING. London : Macmillan & Co. 1893.

This volume will not, we think, enhance its author's reputation. The best of the "inventions," mostly very brief, are not so good as the better stories of his former books. The tone is certainly not higher. The realism is wonderfully vivid, as in all he writes; but realism may be perfect and startling, and style brief and vivid, and yet offence may be given to a refined taste, and the demands of Christian feeling may be violated. Mr. Kipling's realism is never seductively immoral, like that of the modern French school, but it is sometimes as coarse and as repulsive. The spirit of his writing is here and there rather pagan than Christian. Reverence for sacred things is hardly found in it. Therefore, notwithstanding the undoubted genius which he possesses, but which has not yet learnt to charm or morally to benefit his readers, we cannot recommend *Many Inventions* as a book likely to improve the taste or the character of those that read it. It is not a book to be recommended to reading circles, much less for the use of Christian gatherings. There is too much in it that tends to coarsen the mind, and as a whole it leaves a bad taste in the mouth. To be much with such stories as most of those in this volume is not to keep good company.

Parson Jones. A Novel in three volumes. By FLORENCE MARRYAT. London : Griffith, Farran & Co. 1893.

Miss Marryat's hero is a Welsh clergyman, who is introduced to us calmly plodding along the homely path of duty, idolised by his old mother, and happy in the love of a wife who, with all her excellences, is singularly ungraceful and untidy in personal appearance. Parson Jones loves his garden almost better than his parish, and vegetates quietly at Llantygollen, till he meets a Mr. Solun, who describes himself as a Literalist, and manages to sow in his friend's heart a strange discontent with his own position and the leaders of his Church. A

still more powerful influence comes into the parson's life with the advent of a young lady, who has lost her mother and been mysteriously deserted by her lover. She is led to unbosom herself to Parson Jones, who crushes the love for this girl that has been rising in his heart, finds out her father, and at last marries her to her old lover. He hides the secret of his own distress from his wife and mother, but the sharp eyes of his college friend, George Bates, an aristocrat who is labouring with unselfish devotion as an East End clergyman, find out the cause of his sorrow. Parson Jones resigns his living, and goes out as a Literalist missionary to New Zealand. The old mother's panegyrics on her son are overdrawn, and the flippant descriptions of the luxury at the bishop's palace whilst the parson at Llantygollen had no power to banish the rats from his church or repair its leaking walls, are simply ridiculous. The case against church-prayers does not need such a parody of argument as is given us here. "Since prayer is the language of the soul to God, souls can no more pray in set language that has been made for them, than a son could address his father from the depths of his heart in a formal speech that he had learnt beforehand." What comes of the Lord's Prayer if such a canon is to be laid down? George Bates and his housekeeper are the most successful portraits in the book. The parson himself is a fine character, but he is spoiled by the weakness that makes him fall a prey to Verena Shaw's beauty and Ernest Solun's arguments.

The Conquest of Mexico and Peru, prefaced by the Discovery of the Pacific. An Historical Narrative Poem. By KINAHAN CORNWALLIS. New York: Daily Investigator Office. 1893. \$1.

Mr. Cornwallis is the editor and proprietor of a daily financial paper in New York, and was at one time financial editor of the *New York Herald*. As he says in his preface, "I make my daily bread in a bakery not devoted to poesy, and far removed from Parnassus." Poetry has been the busy editor's hobby for years. He has set himself to study the early history of America with a conscientious care which adds greatly to the value of his work. "Excepting Irving and Prescott, probably no prose historian of the age of discovery and exploration in the New World ever studied and collated more authorities, original and modern, on the subject, or tried harder, or with a more unbiassed mind, to discover and tell the true story of the career and voyages of Columbus and his followers, as well as that of the discovery of the Pacific, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru, than I have done. For these extensive and laborious researches I have little to show, except to close students of the period; but I feel amply repaid by the consciousness that there is not an error of fact, in verse or foot-note, in the whole of the two volumes." We recently reviewed Mr. Cornwallis' *Songs of America and Columbus*, but this book

has 165 pages and 5940 more lines than the earlier one. The poetry itself flows easily, and is pleasant to read. We cannot call the volume a work of genius, but it is certainly a monument of painstaking research, and may serve as an introduction to prose histories dealing with the same subject. The time of publication is well chosen.

Sea Dreams. By FLO. JACKSON. London : W. Andrews & Co. 1893. 1s.

Miss Jackson's artless little poems seem to have caught the spirit of the sea. "We Six," with its description of a dead sister, is a touching song of a household. "Sunset Time" paints the strong lover standing with his sweetheart on the shore; whilst "At Close of Day" deals with an old dame's memories. It is a little volume which lovers of poetry will prize, and Mr. Andrews has dressed it in very neat covers.

Tennyson's Life and Poetry, and Mistakes concerning Tennyson.
By EUGENE PARSONS. Chicago : 43 Bryant Avenue.

Mr. Parsons' pamphlet represents much loving study of Tennyson's life and the literature which has grown up around his name. He is rather hard on the small errors of the writers in magazines and encyclopedias, but his own sketch is helpful and appreciative, and the list of works on Tennyson will be found useful by students.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892. With much Supplementary Information. London : published at the Society's Office. 1893.

THIS stout volume containing a thousand pages of condensed information about the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and its workers for a couple of centuries, has been prepared by Mr. C. F. Pascoe, who has special charge of the Society's MSS., archives and books. He has sacrificed to it all his leisure, and even his annual holidays for the last five years. It was at first proposed to print verbatim the manuscript journals of the Society from its incorporation in 1701 up to the close of the eighteenth century, but

this would have required five large quartos, and the work of the nineteenth century would still have been untouched. Such a project was evidently impracticable, but Mr. Pascoe has gone through the mass of material, and given us a volume which, as the Archbishop of Canterbury says, is "full of interest in its narrative, and full of vividness in its touches." It is a worthy record of a great society. With the exception of the Falkland Isles, where it had only an honorary missionary, every colony of the Empire has at some time or other received its aid. From the first it has had direct missions to the heathen, but its chief aim has been to build up the Colonial churches as missionary centres. It might, indeed, be described as the Episcopal Missionary Society, for one hundred and seven bishops have been supported, wholly or in part, from its funds. Of the 3693 agents employed between 1702 and 1892, only three secessions to other Christian bodies are recorded on the roll. The operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are now carried on in fifty-one dioceses, one-fourth of its funds being spent on our Christian colonists, five-eighths on the conversion of the heathen, the remainder on missions in foreign countries, such as China, Corea, Japan, Borneo, Madagascar, and Honolulu. Of its six hundred and eighty ordained missionaries, one hundred and nineteen are natives of Asia, and thirty-eight of Africa.

The first missionary effort of the Church of England seems to have been in 1534-5, when Cranmer sent two chaplains to Calais. The colonists to the New World later in the same century were accompanied by missionaries or chaplains, but it was not till 1701 that the Church of England began to conduct Foreign Mission work on an organised system. The Religious Societies which sprang up at the end of the seventeenth century soon spread through the kingdom. One of their leading spirits was Dr. Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, appointed Ecclesiastical Commissary for Maryland in 1696. Before he sailed for America he set himself to work to send out clergymen and supply them with suitable libraries. It was he who started the scheme for spreading Christian knowledge at home and in the colonies, which led to the formation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." It held its first meeting on March 8, 1699. The following December, Dr. Bray sailed for America, where he tried to organise the Church in Maryland. In the summer he came to England to secure the Royal Assent to a Bill for the orderly constitution of the Maryland Church. The result of his efforts was the formation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace on June 27, 1701. The seal adopted was "a ship under sail, making towards a point of land; upon the prow standing a minister with an open Bible in his hand; people standing on the shore in a posture of expectation, and using these words, *Transiens adjura nos.*" The Rev. George Keith was "adopted as the first missionary," on February 27, 1702. A month later Patrick Gordon was appointed. John Talbot, the chaplain of the ship in which Keith sailed for America, was so deeply

impressed by his work that he enlisted as his companion. Keith's district stretched for eight hundred miles between New England and North Carolina. Mr. Keith travelled twice over most of the ten plantations of that region, and found the country ripe for earnest work. "There is a mighty cry and desire, almost in all places where we have travelled, to have ministers of the Church of England sent to them in these northern parts of America. . . . If they come not timely, the whole country will be overrun with Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers." John Wesley was appointed as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on Jan. 16, 1736. He had sailed for Georgia the previous October. At first he intended to accept no salary from the Society, but being convinced by his friends that he ought to study the necessity of his friends as well as his own, he accepted the fifty pounds a year allowed him. Extracts are given from his Journal with this comment appended: "If, as his labours show, Wesley spared not himself, it must be confessed he spared not his flock. The strictest discipline of the Church might have been thought sufficient for those who were as yet babes in Christ, but weighted with rules of his own [which he called *Apostolical Institutions*] the burdens were heavier than could be borne." There are some passages in this record which throw light on Wesley's ordinations for America. For want of ministers many congregations of Churchmen had to worship with Dissenters. One Presbyterian teacher who was asked how his congregation behaved in those unsettled days, said he was "happy in having his congregation chiefly consisting of Church of England people, who gave themselves up to none of those wild notions and enthusiastick ravings which some people practised so much and were so fond of." The difficulty of securing ordained men was keenly felt, but it was not till 1784 that Dr. Seabury was consecrated bishop, and even then he had to seek his orders from the Scotch Church. On February 4, 1787, two other bishops were ordained in Lambeth Palace Chapel. Seventy years before, one of the missionaries—the John Talbot to whom we have referred—had urged that America should have a bishop. He said: "I don't pretend to prophesy, but you know how 'tis said, the Kingdom of God shall be taken from them and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits of it. God give us all the grace to do the things that belong to our peace. . . . I cannot think but the honourable Society had done more if they had found *one* honest man to bring Gospel orders over to us. No doubt, as they have freely received, they would freely give, but there's a *nolo episcopari* only for poor America; but she shall have her Gospel day even as others, but we shall never see it unless we make more haste than we have done." How fully these significant words have been borne out by the event is manifest to all who compare the progress of Methodism in America with that of the Anglican Church. The chapter on Melanesia, in which the heroic figures of Selwyn and Coleridge Patteson play so prominent a part, is a bright page in the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; but

no ingenuity can give dignity to the attempt to introduce Anglicanism into Fiji. We are sorry also to note the reflection on the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Missions as to the neglect of the Fijians in the measles epidemic of 1874. There are only two Anglican clergymen in Fiji. The volume honestly chronicles both success and failure. The difficulty of the work in Bengal in 1875-6 was very great, for an active Jesuit missionary formed a settlement at Kharri and drew off half, and in some places two-thirds, of the Anglican "converts." The intruder lavished money on the people for the relief of all immediate wants, and then purchased landed property on which he persuaded the natives to settle by offering them very easy terms of tenancy. The volume is crowded with interesting details as to the work in many fields, and shows with what unwearying zeal the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and its agents, have laboured during the last two centuries. Mr. Pascoe has not only earned the gratitude of his own Society, but has laid all lovers of missionary work under a lasting debt by his researches into the annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There is not a dull page in this portly volume; nor is there a page which does not teach many lessons, even to those whose principles and methods are most at variance with those of the great High Church Missionary Society.

The Literary Works of James Smetham. Edited by WILLIAM DAVIES. London : Macmillan & Co. 5s.

The success of James Smetham's Letters has led Mr. Davies to collect his friend's articles and poems together into this volume of the "Eversley Series." Three out of the four papers—those on Sir Joshua Reynolds, William Blake, and Alexander Smith—originally appeared in this REVIEW about a quarter of a century ago. They will be read with keen enjoyment by all who have discovered the treasures of thought and fancy in the earlier volume. The article on Sir Joshua Reynolds furnishes quite an education in the principles which rule the painter's craft, and is lighted up with meditative passages which remind us of the best things in the Letters. A more admirable and enjoyable sketch of the great painter and his contemporaries it would not be easy to find. "William Blake" is a subject even more congenial to the critic, whose descriptions of the designs for the book of Job almost set those masterpieces of imaginative illustration before our very eyes. Blake's lifelong struggle presents some striking analogies to Smetham's own history, and it is manifest that he lingers lovingly over the story of that brave fight with straitened circumstances. The article on Alexander Smith rather palls after these studies of Reynolds and Blake. The simple fact is, that the topic lacks the interest of the other sketches; but there are some fine passages in the paper which we should be sorry to miss. "Gerhard Dow," published in the *Art Journal*, is a gem of literary

portraiture. The poems combine high thinking with felicitous phrase and diction. "Immortal Love" and "The Hundredfold Reward" are exquisite Bible studies; "An Antidote to Care" deals with an old theme in a way so plaintively impressive that care seems to vanish amid thoughts of death and eternity. The volume lacks of necessity the autobiographical element which lends such pathos to the Letters; but those who know James Smetham's history will study these papers and poems with deepening interest.

Christianity and Socialism. Being the twenty-third Fernley Lecture, delivered in Cardiff, July 20th, 1893. By the Rev. WILLIAM NICHOLAS, M.A., D.D. London : Wesleyan Methodist Bookroom. 1893. 2s. and 3s.

Partly because of the well-known ability of the distinguished minister to whom it was entrusted, but chiefly because of the interest and importance of the subject announced, the Fernley Lecture this year was looked forward to with more than ordinary eagerness. During the delivery of the lecture the eagerness in many cases trembled into apprehension as the vastness and the vagueness of the subject dawned upon them, and especially as the lecturer passed from paragraph to paragraph without attempting to define the Socialism which was to be considered in its relation to Christianity. That the apprehension was not altogether groundless is apparent from the lecture in its printed form. For although, in an historical survey, the various types of Socialists are permitted to set forth their aims and principles with disproportionate prolixity (nearly half the lecture is devoted to it), it is difficult to determine whether the author considers that all kinds of Socialism are incompatible with Christianity, or only those kinds on which, by preference, he dwells. The result is a vague feeling of disappointment.

Instead of defining at the outset the attitude of Christianity towards the economic and political arrangements of society and selecting the kinds of Socialism to be examined in their relation to Christianity, the lecturer opens with some rather commonplace remarks on the social nature of man and on our Lord as a social reformer. Nor is this grave defect supplied elsewhere. From the rather trite exordium to the not too brilliant peroration (in neither of which does the lecturer do full justice to his power) we look in vain for those clear definitions and those nice discriminations without which discussion on a complex subject must be largely "in the air." We cannot go so far as some of the reviewers, who appear to think, though they are too polite to say so in so many words, that this lecture, instead of being a philosophical and scientific treatise on the grave and urgent subject chosen by the author, is a too rhetorical excursion on the surface of a number of topics not too closely related to its title. But we must express our disappointment. Not that the lecture is without its

excellences both of thought and style. It is lively, it is vigorous, it is full of interest from many points of view ; to those who approach the subject for the first time it will furnish large, though sometimes defective, information with respect to Socialism in many of its forms ; to those who are familiar with the ground it covers it will bring a chapter (the ninth) full of helpful observations on the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles, on the lawfulness of private property and on the use and the abuse of wealth ; and, best of all, it will do something to enlarge the Church's outlook on the wide and tangled fields of social life, in which, at this time more than ever, she seems called to exercise her patient, careful, and discriminating husbandry.

1. *The Book of Old Edinburgh.* With Historical Accounts of the Buildings therein reproduced, and Anecdotes of Edinburgh Life in the Olden Times. By JOHN CHARLES DUNLOP and ALISON HAY DUNLOP. Illustrated by WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A. New Edition. 2s.
2. *Memorable Edinburgh Houses.* By WILMOT HARRISON. With 38 original Illustrations from drawings made expressly for this work. 3s. 6d.
London : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 1893.

1. The first of these volumes was originally prepared as a guide to the Old Edinburgh Street in the International Exhibition of 1886. It takes each house there represented, gives it its place in the city's history, peoples it with former residents, and makes it a text for bright discourse on the habits and customs, the thought and speech, of the Scotch capital in olden times. The plan is worked out with much care and skill. There is a specially interesting section on the Tolbooth, which naturally affords abundant material for such a paper ; and another on "The Assembly Rooms at the Bow." Here we get a glimpse of the famous "bickers" or street tussles. "How the news spread that a 'bicker' was to be 'on' is best known to boy-nature, much the same in all ages ; but, as the hour approached, boys, 'gentle and semple,' were to be seen hurrying to the rendezvous, armed with sticks or shinties, mostly in inverse ratio to the size of the warriors, and with pockets bulging with a select assortment of stones." The "bickers" were dangerous both to life and property, but the feeling of the elders was represented by Thomas Nelson, the founder of the great publishing house, who occupied the Boar-head piazza shop. "Shut the shop," he said when a "bicker" was imminent ; "the lads maun hae their training." The book is brightly written and well illustrated.

2. Mr. Harrison sets himself a different task. He leads us round

Edinburgh street by street, pointing out every house with a history, and bringing back the former tenants with some happy bit of description. Many a visitor will be surprised at the wealth of reminiscence which gathers round the famous capital. Hume's house in James's Court introduces us to the philosopher to whom Boswell was not afraid to say, "How much better you are than your books!" and also to Dr. Hugh Blair, who lived here during Hume's absence in France. The great preacher was vain and very open to flattery. One day a Scotchman asked an English clergyman at Blair's table what his brethren thought of their host's sermons. To Blair's horror and his wife's mortification the guest replied, "Why, they are not partial to them at all." "How, sir?" he was asked; "how should that be?" "Why," was the answer, "because they are so much read, and so generally known, that our clergy can't borrow from them." There is an abundance of entertaining reading in this capital book, and visitors to Edinburgh will find their pleasure greatly enhanced if they take Mr. Harrison's book as their companion.

Flora of South-west Surrey, including Leatherhead, Dorking, Guildford, Godalming, Farnham, and Haslemere. By S. T. DUNN, B.A. London: West, Newman, & Co. 1893. 3s.

Mr. Dunn's book is intended to serve as a portable field-guide for the botanist in south-west Surrey. It is a summary of printed records taken from the works of other botanists, supplemented by personal observation. The irregularities of distribution in the flora of the region seem to be mainly due to variation in soil and subsoil. A careful account is therefore given of the Chalk, Greensand, and Wealden Clay formation. The most fertile soil on the Greensand area is the Bargate stone region about Godalming. Mr. Dunn says that one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the local flora is the restriction of *Geranium pyrenaicum*, *G. lucidum*, *Cardamine impatiens*, and *Carex depauperata* to the neighbourhood of Godalming. The lists are drawn up with care and skill, so that the amateur botanist will find the particulars which he needs in his rambles. The book is provided with a full index. We know no pocket-guide to compare with this. One sample of the work will show its plan: " *Geranium lucidum*. Linn. Shining Crane's-bill. Native, flowers May to September. See Brewer's *Flora of Surrey*, English type. Hedgebanks and walls, local. Curiously distributed, being almost, if not entirely, confined to a limited area about Godalming, but within this exceedingly common. The plant is limited on the north by the chalk, south by the Wealden clay, and extends westward to Seale, Elstead and Witley, eastward to Bramley and Hascombe. Rare in Mid-Hants and West Sussex."

[No. CLXI.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. XXI. NO. I.

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The Romance of Electricity. By JOHN MUNRO. London : Religious Tract Society. 1893. 5s.

Mr. Munro has given us some good books on electricity, but this is the most fascinating of them all. It is full of facts about thunder and lightning, fire-balls, St. Elma's fire, the aurora, and electricity in living creatures, which are simply wonderful. A panoramic view of this wonderland of electricity in Nature opens out before us as we turn these profusely illustrated pages. But the marvels of electricity in art which are brought out in the second half of the volume are not less noteworthy. The "Romance of the Telegraph" is a string of stories which show how much true heroism there has been among the "operators," whilst a good chapter deals with "foes of the wire," like the little teredos or borers which destroy the gutta-percha of our submerged cables. The telephone, microphone, and electric light are other tempting subjects. There are some sensible hints for those who wish to make electrical engineering their profession. The "speculation," with which the volume closes, asks whether there may not be a medium, finer than the ether which runs through the universe, "connecting the heart and conscience of man with the Spirit of his Maker, and thus his prayer may receive its answer? Many curious facts appear to show that one mind can influence another at a distance, and by analogy with the material universe the influence would require a medium of transmission." Even science has no light to throw on such a question, but she may well be content with the world of wonders among which Mr. Munro leads his readers.

Tales and Sayings of William Robert Hicks of Bodmin. With Portrait and Memoir. By WILLIAM FREDERICK COLLIER. Third Edition, enlarged. Plymouth : Brendon & Son. 1893.

Mr. Hicks was a noted Cornish story-teller, who died in 1868. For twenty years he held the post of Governor of the County Lunatic Asylum, where he found special facilities for his study of human nature. He was also Clerk to the Bodmin Board of Guardians and the Highway Board. He was a good singer, a clever performer on the violin, and could mimic both the gestures and tones of others so as to add no little relish to his tales. No Cornish story-teller of his time had so high a reputation ; nor do we wonder at this when we turn to the concluding tale, which describes the way in which a Launceston jury reached its verdict in a notorious murder case. That is certainly a story to make a man's reputation. We are distinctly disappointed with the earlier tales about Daniel, the witty lunatic, though the way in which he dealt with the loose-living chaplain is capital. But there are many racy tales in the little book which will appeal powerfully to lovers of Cornish life and character. The story about the

widower, on p. 82, is gruesome, but it is so odd a medley that one cannot fail to feel the humour of the situation. The curate's experience in catechising a matter-of-fact lad forms a wholesome warning to those who venture into such fields. There are some quaint illustrations both of the dulness and shrewdness of the uneducated Cornishman which will amuse all readers.

1. *Christ in the City.* By JOHN M. BAMFORD. 3s.
2. *Stephen Mitchell's Journey.* By PANSY. 2s. 6d.

London : C. H. Kelly.

1. Mr. Bamford's *My Cross and Thine* was written amid the lovely scenery of Colwyn Bay. But though his home has changed to the banks of the Mersey, he has not lost the poet's eye or the Christian philosopher's heart. *Christ in the City* is a series of meditations in crowded street and silent cathedral, in suburb and cemetery, on landing-stage and on the sea. The changing incidents of such varied surroundings give tone and colour to these homilies. Each has its appropriate meditation appended. The volume will supply another illustration of a well-known fact, that some of the best thinking is done, not in country retreats, but in crowded cities. It is a book which all Mr. Bamford's friends will welcome. Its neat get-up makes it a very "attractive present."

2. *Stephen Mitchell's Journey* is one of Pansy's most stimulating books. The loutish farmer's son sets out to sell his produce at some place like Chautauqua, where he hears a clever speech and notes down a hundred and three words which he does not understand. The thirst for knowledge awakes, he makes friends with Miss Ranson, the sister of the new preacher, and soon the whole family is lifted up and brought to Christ. Maxwell Ranson's first engagement has been broken off, and he is almost crushed by the blow, but his sister succeeds in drawing him out of himself. How he is made happy at last Pansy must explain. The story is fresh and bright from beginning to end.

1. *Index to the Periodical Literature of the World, covering the Year 1892.* London : Review of Reviews Office. 5s.
2. *The "Bookman" Directory of Booksellers, Publishers, and Authors.* London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 1s.

1. Miss Hetherington and her assistants are to be congratulated on this third *Index to Periodical Literature*. It has grown to 190 pages, but even in this space it is only possible to deal with about 150 of the leading periodicals of the English-speaking world. Mr. Stead's bright introduction deals with the births, marriages, and deaths in the world of periodicals. The success of the *Strand*, which maintains its circulation at over 300,000 a month, has brought many vigorous rivals into the field ; but Mr. Stead thinks there is still room for a

popular missionary magazine, and also for socialist, spiritualistic, and medical monthlies. Miss Hetherington's essay on the art of indexing will be distinctly useful to other workers in that field. The descriptive paragraphs as to the various magazines and their editors give just the facts that a writer needs. There are some good portraits of editors, among which we notice the editor of this REVIEW. The classified tables are also very useful. The Index itself is prepared in a careful and workmanlike style.

2. The *Bookman Directory* covers a different field. It gives lists of booksellers in town and country, specially prepared by booksellers residing in the various places; a list of publishers such as we have often sighed for in vain; and a list of authors. The notes as to publishing houses furnish a few interesting particulars as to their history and chief publications. We notice that the Methodist Book-room is said to be in Carter Street, instead of Castle Street, and Mr. Telford's address, in the authors' list, should be changed to 32 Woodbridge Road, Guildford. This Directory has made a good start, and every literary man will feel that it is one of the most useful books he can put on his shelves.

People's Banks. A Record of Social and Economic Success.

By HENRY W. WOLFF. London: Longmans & Co. 1893.

7s. 6d.

This is an elaborate and detailed account of a series of invaluable institutions for the diffusion of popular credit in extensive operation all over the Continent, but little known elsewhere. In an article that has been crowded out of this number, but that is to appear in January, the subject is expounded and discussed. The following sentences from that article will show our high appreciation of the book: "Availing himself of the copious literature in French and German and Italian, and drawing from rich stores of facts obtained by personal observation and investigation, Mr. Wolff has produced a volume which for thoroughness has seldom been surpassed. It is also clear, instructive, and suggestive in a high degree. A book so practical and opportune, and likely to be fruitful in so many ways, it has not often been our happiness to read."

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June 1).—The Duke d'Aumale's vivid sketch of "The Battle of the Dunes," in which Turenne defeated Condé, takes the first place in this number. Acting on a formal order, Turenne had invested Dunkirk on May 29, 1658. He well knew the difficulties of such a siege, for the old veteran, Antoine de Leede, had set himself to multiply barriers around him as soon as he entered on the government. The approach to the place, at all times difficult, was almost intercepted by the Spaniards, who were masters of Gravelines, Berques, and Furnes. Mardick, which the French had reconquered with great difficulty, lay in a wilderness of sand, and was so hard to protect that it was a hindrance rather than a help. The Marshal, seeing the difficulties in his path, spared no effort to turn Mazarin from his project. He fortified his appeal by the opinion of Clermont, who was then the chief of French engineers. An amusing account is given of Clermont's jealousy of his rising young rival, Vauban, whom he had managed to get shut up in Mardick under pretext of the urgency of certain works. But Mazarin was bound to Cromwell by a close treaty. If he did not get Dunkirk for the English the Spaniards would attack Calais with the intention of handing it over to the Protector. Turenne had no alternative but to attempt to take the city. How great his anxiety was all his correspondence bears witness. He feared lest he should run short of oats and of powder; he wanted his infantry reinforced. Mazarin gave him everything he asked. The transports were organised, the provisions assured—everything provided with a foresight and care unknown till now. The effective force was raised to thirty thousand. For a long time no muster of troops so good and so well equipped had been seen. Among them were 6,000 English soldiers, distinguished by their red uniform; fine, robust fellows, who, confident in their strength and prowess, had the tenacity and invincible courage of their race. Meanwhile Condé was growing uneasy. He had been confined to his bed for five months by a serious illness, and had not yet regained strength. He moved about the lines in a carriage, and all that he saw added to his uneasiness. The state of the troops was lamentable. Don John of Austria would not listen to his general's fears. He was confident that the victory was his. So easy was he as to the issue that on the eve of the battle the Spanish soldiers were scattered everywhere seeking forage. Those who were left quietly slept. It was Condé who saw the movement of the enemy next morning. His practised eye soon counted twenty battalions and fifty-six squadrons. At the last moment he urged Don Juan to retreat behind the canal. But the Prince dreamed only of renown. He eagerly accepted the engagement. It was not long before victory declared itself for France. Even then Condé made a daring effort to snatch from Turenne the fruits of his success. If he could only join his forces with those of Antoine de Leede the siege of Dunkirk would be raised. It seemed as though this stratagem must succeed, but the French and Swiss guards rallied in time, and poured such a fire on Condé's force that further advance was hopeless.

(June 15.)—The fourth paper on Prosper Mérimée deals with his last works and his last loves. He had not been lost to literature by the pressure of other duties. He edited the works of Beyle and Jacquemont, gave to the public an edition of Brantôme and one of Agrippa d'Aubigné. He wrote numerous articles for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *Moniteur*, and other journals. But his chief attention was given to the study of Russian literature, which he first made famous in France. He wrote to Albert Stauffer: "The Russian language is the most beautiful in Europe, not excepting Greek. It is more beautiful than German, and has a marvellous clearness. You know

that one is able to comprehend all the words of a German phrase without having a notion of what the author wished to say. My friend Mohl, a Wurtemberger by birth, excused himself for not being able to translate for me a phrase of one of his compatriots, because that phrase was in the preface, and it would have been necessary to read the twelve volumes to get at its meaning. That does not happen in Russian. The language is young, the pedants have not yet had time to spoil it, it is admirably fitted for poetry." M. Filon says that the impression which Mérimée leaves on one's mind is that of elegance. Cousin said that he was a gentleman. He was a gentleman both on the small and great sides. He had prejudices, affectations, disdains; but he had also simplicity of manners, kindness towards inferiors and a delicate sentiment of honour—a fragrance which survives from a vanished state of society.

(July 1.)—M. René Bazin's "Italians of To-day" describes the Northern provinces of Italy and their life. After the frightful Mont-Cenis it is pleasant to see the great plain of Lombardy. The barbarians in olden times felt its charm, and it was probably then as now perennially covered with flowers, fertile, green, and divinely irrigated. The land is marvellously rich, but the people are poor. That striking fact forces itself on a traveller in almost every part of Italy. The villages which he passes have not the happy and neat appearance of those in France and Switzerland. As one becomes acquainted with their real condition the picturesqueness of these homes is lost sight of in deep pity for the people. Yet they are most diligent workers. The popular notion of the Italians as a nation of lazaroni, stretched in the sun in coloured rags, with hands outstretched for alms, is entirely mistaken. The soil is taxed at about one-third of its net revenue, and the houses, owing to fantastic valuations, sometimes are assessed at fifty to sixty per cent. of their rent in taxes. Then there is the curse of usury, the bad quality of the food which produces in the north a terrible disease—pellagra—and the deplorable condition of many rural dwellings. It is no wonder that Socialism has made a host of converts among the peasants. Interesting details are given as to the chief cities in the north and their ways of life.

(July 15.)—M. Paul Mimarde has a second paper on the French convict system. The convict deemed worthy of an allotment is not as a rule transformed at one stroke from a prisoner to a proprietor. Two systems of effecting the change were set in operation concurrently. One, which has borne the best results, is the institution of pupils in training for allotments; the other allots convicts to the colonists. This is now the favourite plan, but it is bad from every point of view. The first months of a convict-settler are hard, but as he begins to make his way he is able to surround himself with modest comforts. He must marry, or, if already married, his wife and children must come out to join him. The result may be gauged by the fact that during the twenty years the experiment has been tried "not a single child of penal origin has been condemned by the criminal courts." An interesting account is given of the way in which female convicts are allowed to marry. M. Mimarde has seen eighteen couples tied up in the little hall where these ceremonies take place. He thinks that the French convict system has all the elements of success, it only needs the energy and the will to accomplish certain reforms. A flourishing city might soon take the place of Nouméa, the very ugly but admirably situated village, whose public buildings are now cabins, and its houses, covered with zinc, seem thrown about by chance. The French have not a single port in Oceania where a vessel can be repaired or revictualled. If any machinery is broken, recourse must be had to English workshops or to an Australian graving-dock.

(August 1.)—In the second part of his "Italians of To-day," M. Bazin deals with the houses of Rome and the Campagna. The city had 226,000 inhabitants in 1870; now it has nearly 400,000. It seems to wear a welcome for all comers. The Romans have a natural hospitality, at once familiar and reserved, begotten from long habits of receiving strangers. The insalubrity of the air in Rome itself has been exaggerated. Even in the months of July, August,

September the number of victims of fever among the citizens is very small. But the evil reputation of the *Agro* is not undeserved. The intensity with which malarial fever rages varies a good deal with the locality. The low parts adjoining the sea, almost always infested with marshes, are most dangerous.

(August 15.)—M. Du Bled's third paper on Franche-Comté deals pleasantly with the legends and popular traditions of the region, and with the state of agriculture. The villages formerly had dozens of families with eight, twelve, or even fourteen children, but these are now comparatively rare. The cultivator of the soil has turned Malthusian, and no longer regards a child as an element of prosperity. His sons become priests, professors, bailiffs, and the father almost ruins himself that they may be gentlemen—those bourgeois, as some one says spitefully, with whom certain villages are poisoned at the present time.

REVUE CHRETIENNE (June).—Madame de Witt Guizot gives us a second paper dealing with the life of Oberlin. It describes the great sorrow which befell the pastor in the death of his wife. Louise Scheppeler, whom Madame Oberlin had trained in her service, became an elder daughter of the house. She made herself guardian, mother, teacher to the pastor's children, and went about the neighbouring villages gathering the young people around her to teach them about God, to pray with them, and to impart to them the instruction she had received from Oberlin and his wife. The four girls who survived their father wished her to accept a daughter's share in their modest patrimony, but this she would not hear of. When the fame of her good works and her entire life, linked with the memory of Oberlin, led the French Academy reconstituted after the Revolution, to give her a Monthyon prize, she added to the journal which bore the news among her friends a little note ascribing all the honour to the Oberlins. She signed the humble declaration with the title dearest to her heart: "Louise Scheppeler, conductrix." "The Agricultural Colony of Sainte-Foy" describes an establishment founded in 1843 for the reception of Protestant children who were criminals or vicious. The Society for protecting the general interests of French Protestantism took the initiative in its foundation. The Government agreed that an institution similar to that for Romanists at Mettray should be established. It was intended for children condemned by a tribunal, or acquitted because they had acted without discretion. They were to have the benefit of moral and religious education, and to be trained in agriculture or trade. A little rural domain called "Les Bardoulets," on the edge of the Dordogne, and near the town of Sainte-Foy, was acquired. Pastor F. Monod was the first President, an office which he held till his death in 1863. It now has 145 inmates—51 sent by the State and 94 by parents or guardians. About three million francs have been spent on the charity since 1843. The culture of its arable lands and the perfect condition of its vines win high commendation from all who visit the settlement. Those who leave Sainte-Foy are watched over and helped to secure situations by a competent Committee. The article is written by M. André, who is now President of this valuable institution.

(July).—We are glad to see M. Sorel's tribute to Guillaume Guizot—a discourse delivered to the annual assembly of the Saint Simon circle. M. Sorel says that his friend's illustrious name seemed almost to fetter him whilst he was distracted by his very versatility and wealth of gifts. He had neither produced his *chef-d'œuvre* nor shown his true capacity when a premature death closed his career. He gave *éclat* and charm to all the reunions of the St. Simon circle; bringing fire and life into the conversation and pouring forth the treasures of an incomparable memory. After enchanting you with his wit, he left you with the illusion, more charming still, that you had almost as much wit as himself. He had the gifts of a student, a *littérateur*, and an orator, but he never wrote anything. He had been for years a Professor at the College of France, and was a great worker and reader. He had gathered an entire archive of notes with a view to preparing an edition of Montaigne, but he could never satisfy his own delicate taste, and his very notes encumbered him.

(August.)—M. Stapfer says in his paper “On the Revision of the Liturgy in the Reformed Church,” that the French Protestants have for a long time been considering the necessity of revising and modifying their form of worship. The baptismal, marriage, communion, and burial services all need such revision, and some fixed usage seems required for the celebration of festivals and exceptional ceremonies. In 1874 M. Bersier set the example of revision by introducing a service which under the form of a novelty was really a restoration. M. Louis Lafon calls it “a return to the usages of the past, and especially a return to the liturgy of Calvin. It is a faithful imitation.” One of the official Synods conceived the happy notion of setting Bersier to work on a liturgical revision, and his book, laden with explanatory notes, appeared a year before his death. His project has fallen into unmerited oblivion, and a Commission has been charged with the task of making another revision. That Commission has had to make concessions to the prejudices of pious laymen who are afraid of every attempt at change. The usages of the faithful have to be considered, for the liturgical form people prefer is that to which they have been accustomed. M. Bersier’s work pleased our critic better than that of the Commission, for it is always scientific and supported by valid reason. Not one of his reforms is a novelty, all are restorations. M. Stapfer discusses various amendments and makes some valuable suggestions.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1.)—Enrico Nencioni’s “Poets and Poetesses” deals with various new volumes of Italian verse. Gabriele D’Annunzio’s “Roman Elegies” depict the city better than any poems that have appeared since the three immortal Roman odes of Carducci. Matilde Serao, in the “Conquest of Rome,” has described in masterly style, has photographed with cruel touch, the Rome of to-day, with its Parliament, its duels, its balls, its scandalous lawsuits—the Rome of Montecitorio, and of the Via Nazionale, of the new quarters and the tramways. But D’Annunzio both in his prose “Piacere” and in his Elegies had shown us old Rome, the grand melancholy of its desolate and picturesque campagna, its ruins, its vast piazzas, its old basilicas. His sea poems also receive much praise. Arturo Graf, in his new volume, “Dopo il Tramonto,” echoes a little too much his former book “Medusa,” but there are some poems noteworthy for their originality and effect. Ada Negri, Vittoria Aganoor, who unites the lively feeling of art and modern life to the passion for classical form, Guido Mazzoni, and Angelo Orvieto, a young Tuscan poet, are the other names marked out for comment. Many illustrations of their work are given.

(June 15.)—Signor Marucchi contributes an archaeological note as to a new monument upon the persecution of Diocletian. He says that among the many archaeological expeditions to the East made on behalf of various European Governments, that which Austria had sent to Asia Minor under the care of the illustrious Professor Benndorf deserves an important place. It has discovered valuable monuments in that country, once so flourishing and highly civilised, but now so desolate and squalid. Professor Benndorf and his companions have concentrated their researches on Lycia, and especially on the site of the old city of Arkand. Here they discovered a great marble *cippo* with a bilingual inscription in Greek and Latin, on which appeared the name of the Emperor Maximian, one of the colleagues of Galerius. It brands the Christians as persistent enemies of the State. The inscriptions themselves are given in this article with some good explanations. A year later Constantine defeated his rival at the Milvian Bridge. What a comment on the inscription!

(July 1.)—Giacomo Barzellotti’s article on “Taine” is here continued. He says that few writers have better known how to combine artistic power with the patience of the critic and historian, strong thought with inspired imagination. No one, even among the writers of other countries, has attempted in such a degree as Taine to give the rigorous imprint of scientific system to literary and artistic criticism, to make history a kind of psychology, to reduce all the matter and the directive principles of moral science to the proceedings and methods of search in natural science. In every part of his work he was

ruled by the philosophic spirit which regards things as a whole and takes general and comprehensive views.

(July 15.)—Signor Chiappelli deals in an extended article with the “Fragments of the Gospel and Revelation of Peter” which have recently been found in Egypt. He says we live in an age of physical and historic discovery. The end of the century with all its lively curiosity as to the social future, interrogates the past of human history with as lively an interest. The excitement caused by the discovery of the “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” is referred to. Italy has manifested her interest in the subject. P. P. Savi’s volume published this year in Rome is a capital piece of work. The finding of the latest manuscripts in Egypt is pleasantly detailed, and a good account of them is given.

(August 1.)—The paper on “Taine” says that his originality as philosopher and historian lay in his eloquent force of imperious affirmation of the indisputable evidence that there is a collective conscience of humanity, living through the ages a life as true and real as that of the conscience of the individual. Taine brought out his views with a clearness of analysis, and an art that was truly French, with an abundance of minute observation of facts studied in the manner of the English analysts. Persistent search for all common, national and ethnic elements in every product of genius informed his criticism. Events appeared to him necessary effects of a concourse of causes and forces natural and social. Taine’s notion of history as a grand and methodical exploration of the inward and invisible man underlying the visible form of social life, is still an essential and integral part of the doctrine of a French philosopher. For him history is nothing but an applied psychology. It is the great merit of Taine that he separated himself from Comte, assigning to psychology its own field of research distinct from that of physiology. He saw that a true science of the human mind could not be constructed in a vague, formless, almost childish way, as the Eclectics, the Scotch and other philosophers of the classical school had attempted to do it.

(August 15.)—“Il Dramma di San Giorgio,” which closes in this number, is a powerful but painful story which gives some interesting descriptions of religious life in Italy. “The Show of Chicago” is a capital description of the World’s Fair, which the writer regards as a great success. The palaces of agriculture and mining are marked out for special notice, as showing the uncontested supremacy of the United States over Europe in such matters.

METHODIST REVIEW (May-June).—Dr. Kelley says, in his “Editorial Salutatory,” that the official call of the Church found him “settled in an attractive pastorate under the eaves of a University, with free access to large libraries, reading-rooms, and varied courses of lectures, affording welcome opportunity through four prospective years for wide reading, congenial study, and mental ripening, feeling no need of more conspicuous place nor craving for more arduous responsibilities amid severe demands.” He speaks modestly of himself, and pays graceful tribute to his predecessors. “The rugged, ruddy face and shaggy white head of Dr. Curry, a fine Carlylean subject for a study in colour by a portrait painter, are still so little faded from the Church’s consciousness that it would scarcely startle us to see the gaunt form rise, and hear the nervous and incisive voice resume discussion where it was left off. So powerfully alive and pervasive was he, that debaters are not yet entirely solid in the confidence inspired by the assumption that he is no longer here to answer them.” Then there was Dr. Whedon, whose monument is found in the twenty-eight volumes of the *Quarterly* which he edited. President Raymond said, “The touch of his pen was electric, and sent an intellectual thrill through Methodism with every number of the *Review*.” He told an intimate friend that when he sent out his first number in 1856 he did not know what verdict the Church would pass on it. “No man,” he added, “is competent to be a trustworthy judge of his own work.” Dr. Kelley says that the Book Committee hoped to secure Dr. Henry A. Bultz, President of Drew Theological Seminary, as editor, but that he could not leave that important post. It seems that the subscription list

was enlarged under Dr. Mendenhall's administration to unprecedented dimensions. All this makes the new editor's work unusually difficult, but as he says, "It is not upon his own opinion, but upon the expressed judgment of others, official and unofficial, that he ventures to attempt the duty assigned to him. Not having recommended himself for this work, his responsibility begins and will end with doing the best he can in a delicate, difficult, and exacting place."

(July-August.)—Mr. Faulkner, in "A Suppressed Chapter of recent Church History," deals with the proposals of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1888. Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, who repudiated the High Church theory of the ministry, threw light on the internal history of the Conference. It seems that an influential committee of seventeen bishops, presided over by Bishop Barry, brought in a recommendation that to secure reunion it was not only necessary to recognise the validity of the orders of presbyterially ordained ministers, but that the history and polity of the Church of England proved that such a recognition could and ought to be given. If that recommendation had been accepted, the Conference would have opened the way to treat on a just, yet generous, basis with the great non-episcopal bodies of Christians. The report was thrown out. There is indeed no doubt that recognition of "Presbyterian Ordinations" would be immediately followed by a violent rupture in the Church itself. Dr. Hoss, editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, deals with "An Old Puritan Scandal"—were Clay and Adams guilty of bargain and intrigue? It is an instructive study of the Presidential Election of 1824, when the voting was indecisive, and the House of Representatives had to make the final choice. Clay was accused of unfairly lending his influence to secure the election of John Quincy Adams, but we entirely agree with Dr. Hoss that there is not a shred of proof that there was any bargain, intrigue, or previous understanding. There is a vigorous note in "Opinion" as to transfers of ministers from one conference to another—a burning subject in the Methodist Episcopal Church. "The transfer system," it says, "is absolutely essential to the connexional life of Methodism, and none the less to important local interests in all parts of the Church. Moreover, in many instances it has been the making of a man when he has been transferred from the region in which his ministry began, and in which, perhaps, he was born and grew up, to a Conference where he was not known." The Wilmington Conference recently passed some strong resolutions in favour of transfers. The last runs thus: "The peach orchards from this classic peninsula teach us that trees from other States often bear better fruit when transplanted to this soil than do the trees of our own nurseries. In harmony with this lesson from nature we extend the hand of fellowship to all whom the bishops transfer to us, and will try to hinder none who can be transferred from us."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW—METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH (July).—This number has a good article on Moravian Missions by Bishop Hendrix. It dwells too much on the links between the Wesleys and the Moravians, but the latter part of the paper is valuable. The writer says that the missionary spirit seems to be hereditary among the brotherhood. Their heroism may be gauged by the fact that out of sixty-four missionaries who died during the first century of work in one of the West Indian Islands, twenty-three only served two years or less before they were struck down. Now and then a Moravian church is found with as many as one in twenty of its members on the Mission field; the average throughout the whole Church is one in fifty. "Every Moravian settlement is a Missionary college, and it excites no surprise when one of their number offers for missionary work, nor is any parade made when they depart for the field." The headquarters of the Church at Herrnhut are pre-eminently a missionary bureau, where three sessions of the Elders' Conference are held weekly to consider scores of letters received from all parts of the world. Dr. Tillett, of Vanderbilt University, writes a sketch of "Albert Taylor Bledsoe." He was born at Franklin, Kentucky, entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and in 1871, six years before his death, be-

came a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He spent a considerable part of his life as a professor of mathematics in American Universities, wrote a great work entitled "Theodicy, or Vindication of the Divine glory, which gained a high reputation," and for twelve years was editor of the *Southern Review*. He was a deep thinker, but a heavy preacher and speaker. His daughter, Mrs. Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, has been for many years one of the associate editors of the *Century*.

THE CANADIAN METHODIST QUARTERLY (July) pleads for "the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip." It is not proposed that the Church should adopt this as a new department, but that it should be used as an illustration of the way in which work may be done among young men, and how the Brotherhood idea may be carried out through present organisations. There are two rules—the Rule of Prayer, which pledges every member to pray daily for the spread of Christ's Kingdom among young men and for a blessing on the Brotherhood; the Rule of Service requires the members to make an earnest effort each week to bring at least one young man within hearing of the Gospel. It is estimated that in the United States only five per cent. of the younger men between the ages of sixteen and forty are church members, "fifteen out of twenty-five attend church with any degree of regularity, and seventy-five out of every one hundred never attend church at all. This estimate may not be correct as to Canada, yet the young man is conspicuous by his absence from church. On the other hand, the world's temples are filled. The saloon, billiard-room, concert-halls, and other worse places are supported almost entirely by the young men."

THE CENTURY (July, August, September).—Harriet W. Preston's sketch of Thomas Hardy in the *Century* for July should not be overlooked. The writer says the tale of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" is told with a simple distinction of style not to be matched by any living writer of English, and hardly even in France. "But from the moment when, despite the dreadful illumination of her experience, and the painfully acquired habit of heroic resistance, Tess yields a second time to the importunities of her first and now doubly repulsive seducer, the claim put forth for her by her historian upon his title-page is stultified; and artistically, no less than morally, his work is in ruins. To call Tess 'pure' after this is a ferocious sarcasm. The ghastly incidents crowded into the last pages of the book avail nothing. The murder and the scaffold are mere vulgar horrors gratuitously insulting to the already outraged feelings of the deeply disappointed reader. They exceed the proper limit of tragedy, exciting neither pity nor terror, but simply repugnance. No writer of our own gloomy times—I say it regretfully, and even resentfully—has grasped for one moment, only to wantonly fling away, a more sublime opportunity than Mr. Hardy in 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles.'" The paper on "Fez, the Morocco of the Moors," by Mr. Bonsal, introduces us to a strange world. A young horse-dealer said to the writer of this article, "Know, Christian, I would not sell a colt of my father's breeding to an unbeliever for all the gold in Fez. I would rather cut his throat." He sold his horse to a soldier for forty dollars rather than accept Mr. Bonsal's sixty. Some remarkable descriptions of religious life in Fez are given. Centuries ago a Fez merchant on his deathbed bequeathed his vineyard and gardens to the Warden to pay stalwart men of good will to go forth into the streets of the city every afternoon and bring to the holy mosque the blind who could not find the way and the cripple who could not walk. Mr. Bonsal watched a line of ten or twelve wretches clothed in rags, and many of them loathsome with disease, toiling slowly up the hillside. A black from the Soudan marched first, holding the staff of the blind man next to him, and half guiding, half pulling him up the hill; the first blind man gave the guidance and support of his staff to the second blind man, and so to the end of the column. After many halts, and many a gasp and moan, the tottering column reached the mosque and were drawn up in line in the doorway. "As the call to prayer rang out the blind beggars fell to the ground, first on their knees, then prostrate, then with their foreheads in the dust, and with their thoughts directed towards Mecca they

breathed the *Fatha*, or prayer, and made their peace with the Lord of all creatures, the King of the Day of Judgment." Phillips Brooks's "Letters to Children" will be eagerly read. Nor should his "Letters from India" in the September number be overlooked. The description of Benares is specially vivid. "Sights at the Fair" is a good Chicago study; and Mrs. Oliphant has an interesting article on Defoe.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—Mr. Bigelow's "Side Lights on the German Soldier" in *Harper* for July shows with what paternal care the Army is treated in the Fatherland. In an out-of-the-way spot in Berlin there is a government museum devoted to hygiene. The exhibit which most interested Mr. Bigelow was one of boots and shoes with labels pointing out which were best for marching purposes. "The ones that appeared to have given the greatest satisfaction were very broad in the toes; in fact, so broad that the foot appeared to have no support except upon the sole, thus allowing the greatest possible room for the expansion of the bones. In lieu of stockings, the article recommended was a woollen rag cut square and folded over the foot according to the taste of the wearer." The friction was thus distributed and the wearer saved from annoying holes at the toes or heel. No officer can marry without the consent of his colonel, who has to decide whether the young lady is suitable to mix with the wives of other officers, and to judge whether the bridegroom can live respectably on his income. The social position of an officer is greatly coveted in Germany. When stationed in desirable towns they are very apt to get into debt, and must sometimes choose between leaving the army in disgrace or marrying a rich girl. This is the reason why so many German officers have married Jewesses. "Greenwich Village" in the August number deals with a quaint settlement which still preserves its original character in the heart of New York. Greenwich Village has "the positive individuality, the age, much of the picturesqueness, of that fascinating region of which the centre is Chatham Square." Its moral and physical cleanliness is due to the fact that from the beginning it has been the home of substantial, well-to-do Americans, though there is a sprinkling of Italians and Americans found within its limits, "together with the few Irish required for political purposes" (!) In the September *Harper* Mr. Davis has a racy paper on "A General Election in England." Colonel Dodge's "Riders of Egypt" is thoroughly interesting. "The Handsome Humes" is one of Mr. Black's best stories.

ST. NICHOLAS (July, August, September).—Mr. Ballantyne's "Chicago" is a descriptive article such as young and old alike enjoy. He says that for enterprise and growth Chicago is the most wonderful city on earth. "There is no tale in the 'Arabian Nights' half so marvellous as the story of its change from a frontier fort into the second city on the Continent." Its population is 1,400,000; its manufactures employ a capital of \$200,000,000; produce annually \$550,000,000 worth of goods, and pay \$100,000,000 in wages. Its wholesale trade runs up to \$500,000,000 a year; its commerce is three times as much. It has 800 private schools, 350 seminaries and academies, four universities. The history of the city is briefly sketched, and there are some capital pictures of "The Woman's Temple" and the seventeen-storey Masonic Temple. "Festival Days at Girls' Colleges" is another capital paper. In the August number "Baltimore" is pleasantly described. The Selections from Hakluyt, the papers on Edison's boyhood and the Crown Prince of Siam show what good matter is provided in this bright magazine.

